Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-94-239 *13 December 1994*

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BSP Deputy Chairman on Minority, Ethnic Issues

AU1312120094 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 7 Dec 94 p 9

[Interview with Georgi Purvanov, Bulgarian Socialist Party deputy chairman, by Valeriya Veleva; place and date not given: "BSP To Resist Attempts To Separate or Isolate Ethnic Communities"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Veleva] Mr. Purvanov, what will the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] do to resist the process of dismantling the nation of Bulgaria and its sovereignty?

[Purvanov] The BSP directs its efforts in two directions: on the one hand, toward seeking ways of spiritually associating the Bulgarians who for various reasons remained outside the borders of the present Bulgaria, and on the other hand, toward stimulating the integration process within the country's borders. This means conducting a policy that comprises specific socioeconomic, cultural, and educational measures aimed at associating the separate ethnic communities in the Bulgarian nation. Thus we will resist the external and domestic attempts to separate, differentiate, and isolate the Bulgarian Turks, Gypsies, and other ethnic communities and to create a confrontation between them and the other parts of the population.

[Veleva] After the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS], now the Romanies also want to create a Romany party based on ethnicity. Is this the road toward solving their problems?

[Purvanov] The BSP has always declared that differentiation on the ethnic principle—i.e. creating an ethnic party, is probably the most wicked basis for developing separate groups within a society. I stress this because we have the sad experience with the DPS which practically did not solve a single basic problem of the population it represents. On the other hand, I see that the DPS is already trying to stimulate the differentiation of the Bulgarian Romanies on the same principle. I think that the Bulgarian Gypsies are mature enough to understand that the establishment of a party on that principle will confine them to a political and cultural ghetto. Isolating this population and creating a confrontation between them and the rest of the Bulgarian nation will eliminate all possible bridges leading toward solving their problems. I suppose that certain people will try to speculate and profit on that foundation.

This population's problems are related to certain socioeconomic dimensions. Any attempt to displace the spiritual issues—religion and education—or to attribute an exceptional importance to them, has a speculative character. The BSP supports aiding those regions—mountainous or semimountainous, or regions along the borders and the coasts—however, without placing the aid on an ethnic foundation. For the BSP, resolving those issues means dealing with them through the engagement of the basic political forces and institutions, rather than through the ethnic-political differentiation of the specific population.

[Veleva] Is it possible to one day reach a situation where we would have a national minority?

[Purvanov] The BSP has declared that it stems from Bulgaria's traditions. Those traditions have never included the concept of amnational minority, and there are no conditions that would allow us to abuse this concept. All speculation on this foundation is aimed at creating tension on an artificial basis. For the simple Turks, this is an alien, abstract, and academic dispute, greatly removed from their daily problems. Therefore, the BSP decisively opposes using the "national minority" concept. We prefer to use the concept of "ethnic group" or "ethnic community."

[Veleva] How do you propose to resolve the ethnic problems in the Rhodopes, where they are close to undermining the foundations of our sovereignty in this part of the country?

[Purvanov] The BSP stressed clearly and categorically that, according to its genesis and origin, the population there is Bulgarian. We will defend this position and will oppose decisively the attempts to create artificial theories, such as the one that treats the Bulgarian Muslims as "Rhodopes Turks." This theory is devoid of any scientific foundation. It is very harmful from a political point of view and it conceals possibilities for an ethnic conflict. For us, solving the problems of the Rhodopes population lies in strengthening and stabilizing the region economically. Naturally, we do not intend to suggest any administrative interference with their religious rituals. I think that, slowly and insistently, the Bulgarian Muslims could be consolidated into our nation.

[Veleva] How will the BSP react to the claims regarding the existence of a Macedonian minority in Pirin Macedonia [in Bulgaria]?

[Purvanov] We must stem from the clear understanding that, for us, the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] is our most natural partner and ally in the Balkans. Unfortunately, I have the feeling that our current diplomacy has not grasped this. At present, we have cold and suspicious relations with Skopje, regardless of the fact that we were the first to recognize the new state, something that provided us with the opportunity to enjoy a certain advantage over our other neighbors. Moreover, under the influence of certain political forces, we are close to exacerbating our mutual relations and thus again pushing the democratically elected leadership of Macedonia into the arms of another neighboring state.

Our position must be explained in terms of supporting the consolidation of the Republic of Macedonia in the international arena. Simultaneously, we must clearly and categorically reject any claims regarding a Macedonian minority within the boundaries of the Pirin region.

[Veleva] We recognized Macedonia, but did not recognize the Macedonian nation and language. Will this thesis be amended in our country?

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[Purvanov] This is a thesis that no one in the world understands, because world political thought is now directed toward a different understanding of the nation. Now, this concept is viewed in state-political rather than ethnic terms. The nation is being identified with the state. Therefore, our position could not meet with understanding in Europe, the world, and least of all Macedonia itself. If we would like to associate with the Republic of Macedonia and create the conditions for reliable long-term relations, there is only one road that must be followed: They must recognize the historical realities and admit that the developments there have a Bulgarian historical root. Unfortunately, they are not sufficiently mature to admit this. For our part, we should think about recognizing the national realities. The dispute regarding the Macedonian language and nation we are conducting at present harms our relations and the prospects for resolving the issue. We must overcome suspicion on both sides of the border, to open up to each other's spiritual, economic, and political factors, and create the conditions for a slow but sure coming together of the populations of the two countries.

[Veleva] The Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization- Union of Macedonian Societies proposed a conference on correcting the border with the Western Outlands in Serbia, while a petition among the Bulgarian population there demanded that the region be placed under UN auspices. Is this possible?

[Purvanov] With such unrealistic demands, we rather worsen this population's situation. It becomes the object of suspicion and doubt, and consequently to a crude political and administrative pressure. We must recognize the realities. Here, precisely as in the case of Macedonia, we must strive to open the borders and create an active economic and intellectual development.

This is so because, precisely, the Bulgarians in the Tsaribrod and Bosilegrad regions have been hit most gravely by the crisis and embargo. It is the duty and commitment of the Bulgarian state to facilitate an economic revival there, something that would serve as a prerequisite for strengthening Bulgarian awareness. The people there would like to feel that Bulgaria really stands behind them and that this is more than a declarative position.

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Havel Discusses 'Disappointment' in Politics

95CH0070A Prague PROGNOSIS WEEKLY in English 30 Nov 94 p 3

[Article by Hana Lesenarova: "Havel: 'I Just Want To Be a Pensioner'"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Czech president-playwright Vaclav Havel just isn't what he used to be. A year into his second term, he is already thinking about what life will be like without the reins of state.

"I still have three more years, but after that I just want to be a pensioner," Havel told PROGNOSIS WEEKLY November 16 at a state reception honoring the visit of Portuguese President Mario Soares.

At the reception, which took place a day before the five-year anniversary of the November 1989 revolution, Havel appeared rather downcast as he considered life since the Communists were ousted from power.

"It's just many more concerns," he said, toying with a cigarette before lighting up.

Lately, Havel seems to go through a struggle every day without winning many points.

Last week he came up with the idea of presenting something he called "an annual report on the state of the union," but his on-going competition with Premier Vaclav Klaus threatened to derail the idea.

The always-wry Klaus called Havel's idea for an annual address "surprising."

The two leaders have also been disagreeing over whether the Czech Republic needs a "vision." Havel was one of the first to argue that the spiritual regression and abuses present under communism now require the Czech people to go through a moral transformation.

"What is...sometimes...called the moral renewal of the society cannot be done the same way the economic reform was done," Havel said in a November 17 speech to students at the castle.

"I'm convinced that it's not enough to rely on the self-operating effect of a stabilizing economic and political system, but that it is possible and necessary to do more."

He seemed to be directing his point at Klaus, who said the same day that there is no need to try to correct people.

"There is a debate about new vision going on right now. Does that mean it's not enough that we are better? Do we still have to be corrected?" said Klaus during a separate meeting with students at Charles University.

Sounding melancholy during his November 17 speech, Havel seemed to be returning to his revolutionary ideas of "Truth and Love," rather than continue brawling with Klaus. "It seemed that values such as solidarity, spirituality, love of your fellow man, tolerance, and a will to communicate with one another would go through some kind of renaissance," he said of the days following the revolution. "I fully understand the disappointment of those who say many November expectations were not fulfilled, or that we even have forgotten many of our November ideals."

Czech, Slovak Army Heads Discuss Cooperation

LD1212201994 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 12 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Jiri Nekvasil and Jozef Tuchyna, commanders in chief of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the Czech and Slovak Armies, held talks at the Army Academy at Vyskov today. Ivan Holas of Czech Radio Brno has more details.

[Holas] The meeting was instigated by Jozef Tuchyna, who thinks that the current level of cooperation between the Czech and Slovak Armies does not quite correspond to the needs of the two countries. Jiri Nekvasil fully identified with this view, adding that the reason behind a certain weakening in mutual relations during the recent period was a complex process of dividing the former Federal Army, as well as a certain euphoria raised by the smooth way this complicated operation was carried through.

In some aspects, the contacts between the Czech and Slovak Armies are weaker than with other neighboring countries. In the future, the situation should be exactly the opposite, and today both chiefs have agreed on the first concrete steps toward this change.

The materials of the military counterespionage and intelligence services, which are kept in Prague, remain the only issue concerning the split of the Armies that has not been resolved yet. General Tuchyna, however, is not worried about the Czech party abusing these documents, but, with respect to protection of personality, it is desirable to have the materials concerning Slovak citizens in the ownership of Slovak institutions.

The decision on this issue is, however, beyond the power of both officials, so they can only lend their help when this matter is being solved.

Holan Confident of Officer Corps' Loyalty

AU1312122194 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 10 Dec 94 p 3

[Interview with Defense Minister Vilem Holan by "(has)"; place and date not given]

[FBIS Translated Text] [LIDOVE NOVINY] Is our Army's officer corps loyal to its command?

[Holan] Thirty percent of the officers are under age 30, and 43 percent of all career soldiers belong to the same age bracket. These people are not in the least imbued

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with totalitarian practices. Just a few more, and this group will be in the majority in the Army. Another important thing is the fact that, according to a law passed five years ago, officers or career soldiers cannot be members of a political party or support its activity. From many of my conversations, I have ascertained that, in the majority of cases, they consider this to be a relief. I believe that the officer corps is loyal. Its members are soldiers through and through. People in important posts have been replaced, many of them had to leave the Army, and a lot of them left of their own accord. We have a nonpartisan Army, but it would be incorrect to say that it is apolitical. After all, it must be aware of its responsibility for the protection of this country.

MP's Succeed in Halting Air Force Modernization

AU1312124394 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 30 Nov 94 p 2

[Article by "km": "Deputies Ask Defense Minister To Halt the Modernization of MiG-21 Aircraft"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—The reequipment of the Air Force fighter squadrons, which are among the most important resources of state defense, will be halted.

Namely, the deputies of the Defense and Security Committee appealed at the end of last week to Defense Minister Vilem Holan to freeze the financing of the modernization project for older Russian MiG-21 jets until this issue is dealt with in the Chamber. "The minister promised that the modernization will not be launched now," Tomas Fejfar, deputy chairman of the aforementioned committee said yesterday.

The deputies intend to discuss the reequipment of the fighter squadrons at the beginning of next year. Army officials refuse to comment on the deputies' resolution until the minister returns from an official visit to the United States and Canada.

The Army has actually begun the modernization of the antiquated MiG's. Moreover, in the so-called acquisition plan, published last week, the Defense Ministry even identified the time when the deliveries of the modernized aircraft should start as 1996.

"We do not want to decide who will modernize, or how. That is none of our business. The problem is, however, that we are the ones with their hands on the money tap. To be able to responsibly say: Yes, we will give so much money for this project, we need complete and exhaustive information on this so essential matter," Fejfar stated.

In addition to the modernization of MiG-21 aircraft, there is also the possibility of purchasing secondhand U.S. F-16 fighters. "I can also imagine another possibility—namely, that we do not modernize right now, and we make do with what we have," the Defense and Security Committee deputy chairman said.

The Army will invest the largest part of the money assigned for modernization in the reequipment of aircraft hardware and in air defense resources. It is a matter of almost 40 percent of the 120 billion korunas earmarked for modernization projects until 2005. Of the almost 300 Army projects, the Defense and Security Committee will, according to its deputy chairman, still discuss the modernization of T-72 tanks and the purchase of state-of-the-art L-159 tactical aircraft.

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New Government To Be Sworn In 13 Dec

LD1212162794 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 12 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Slovak President Michal Kovac will appoint a new Slovak Republic government as early as tomorrow. He has made this decision on the basis of a recommendation by the current Cabinet presented to the president by Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik and after an agreement with Prime Minister-designate Vladimir Meciar.

The new government will attend the oath-taking ceremony at Bratislava Castle at 1930 tomorrow.

This means that the decision about the implementation of the preliminary round of the second wave of coupon privatization will thus be made by the new cabinet.

The government will present a statement on its program within a month and will ask parliament for a vote of confidence.

Meciar on Meeting With President Kovac

LD1212162594 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 12 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Today Slovak President Michal Kovac received a draft list of ministers proposed to form the new government. He said he needed more time for individual talks with all of the candidates and therefore suggested 15 December at 1730 as the likely date for the government's appointment. Vladimir Meciar, Jan Luptak, and Jan Slota, the chairmen of the coalition comprising the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], the Association of Workers of Slovakia, and the Slovak National Party, asked the president for an earlier date because 15 December clashes with the intended start of the preliminary round of coupon privatization. Robert Beno at the primate's palace has more details.

[Begin recording] [Meciar] We proposed a day before 15 December so we could halt the preliminary round of the coupon privatization on 15 December. If this cannot be arranged, let the government postpone the preliminary round. The president suggested two more dates after 15 December, but it is all linked to the preliminary round of the coupon privatization.

Another date set was 16 December and the third was 19 December.

[Beno] Have you decided on any further steps in case the president does not appoint the government by 15 December nor [words indistinct] any decision on the preliminary round of privatization is taken.

[Meciar] In that case, the president will risk having to look for another government and new parties to enter that government.

[Luptak] Remember that we defended the president in the controversies with the HZDS and that it was quite a lot of trouble for us. We do not want to be a confrontational party, and I think the president does not want [words indistinct]. We think that if we undertook the burden [words indistinct], once we are in the government the president should not delay the appointment [words indistinct].

If the president is as accommodating and left-oriented as he says he is, he should be anxious about instability as well. The president has his rights, which we do not deny. I told him definitely that we, the workers, and our party did not agree with launching the second wave of privatization and that we would look for ways to reject it.

[Beno] You said that the president would have to look for a new government. What would happen if on 17 December he named the government according to your proposal?

[Meciar] The president himself volunteered to set the date of 15 December, at 1730. It is acceptable to me because of President Kucan's visit. We are not making it an absolute demand that it has to be on the 15th; if it is later, then it is later, but they have to halt the preliminary round of coupon privatization. It is not possible to start privatization. Even the attorney general pointed that out, and other institutions, too, are saying this is not in order. They are concerned that 80,000 coupon booklets are in disarray. Let us first remove these doubts and do things properly. Suspending privatization is none of our business but we, as the new government, do not want to begin by stopping privatization. The president is a sufficiently experienced politician to realize what impact it would have on the international political scene if the new government came into office and stopped privatization. It is better not to start at all. Therefore, we asked not to be put into such a position as soon as we start because that would further damage our image on the international scene. It would not be in the interest of Slovakia, and I think that what is not in the interest of the state is not in the interest of the president.

The president has promised that he will invite Moravcik and Filkus, and they will discuss the possible date of suspending privatization. At the same time, he stated that he personally does not believe that privatization has not been prepared adequately.

[Beno] After the end of a press briefing, I asked presidential spokesman Vladimir Stefko to assess the talks:

[Stefko] The atmosphere of the talks was very peaceful. It was almost a working atmosphere. Mr. Meciar stressed how complicated the process of arriving at the list of the new cabinet members had been. He presented the list without any other accompanying documents—that is, without screening certificates, without affidavits by new Cabinet members, stating that they are not entrepreneurs and members of company boards. Mr. Meciar made it clear that these issues had been solved in the preparatory phase of forming a new cabinet and that, on the day the given candidates start to work as members of

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the cabinet, they would halt all their entrepreneurial activities. As regards screening certificates as well as affidavits linked to the screening law, Chairman Meciar categorically refused to provide them, giving as the reason the fact that this was against his principles.

[Beno] The meeting with the president was also attended by Mr. Luptak, who said yesterday it would be an insult if the president failed to appoint his party's nominees within three days. Did the president react to this today?

[Stefko] During today's talks, Mr. Luptak concentrated more on stressing the issue of halting coupon privatization—in fact, postponing the start of coupon privatization. He said that, unless the president brought about a postponement, if he did not appoint the cabinet within the time span that would make it possible for the new government to postpone the preliminary round of coupon privatization, he himself and his party would be forced to fundamentally reassess their position on the president. He said quite literally that other means would be used in consequence.

[Beno] What was the president's reaction?

[Stefko] The president's reaction was very calm. He pointed out that the Constitution provided him with certain powers and certain duties and that he did not intend to succumb to blackmail, to allow himself to be pushed into a corner, and that, until parliament dismissed him, he intended to perform his duties according to the Constitution, his best intentions, and his conscience.

[Beno] According to Mr. Meciar, the other problematic issue was the nomination of Mrs. Olga Keltosova [as minister of labor, social affairs, and the family].

[Stefko] If I can use certain hyperbole, this case was not discussed in much detail. The president said only that, regarding the list of names presented to him by Chairman Meciar, he had certain doubts as to Mrs. Keltosova's right to participate in the Cabinet. However, he did not put forward any a priori position.

It was possible to get the impression from the talks as well as from the president's statement that he was capable of remaining above some of the dramatic events in which Mrs. Keltosova had been involved. [end recording]

State Secretaries Dismissed by Own Request

LD1212194694 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 12 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Cabinet of Jozef Moravcik has dismissed, at their own request, five state secretaries: Ivan Rovny of the Ministry of Health; Ludmila Gajdosikova of the Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs, and the Family; Alojz Oparty and (Stanislav Kudlak) of the Ministry of Economy; and (Jan Smolen) of the Ministry of Environment.

All of them have been dismissed with effect from the day of appointment of the new goverment.

Apart from the analyses of the individual departments, members of the Cabinet in office have prepared for their successors a list of topical tasks and problems. [passage omitted]

Meciar Refuses To Screen Government Members

LD1212204194 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1830 GMT 12 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Vladimir Meciar, prime minister-designate and chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], accompanied by the chairmen of the Slovak National Party and the Association of Workers of Slovakia Jan Slota and Jan Luptak, presented to President Michal Kovac this morning a proposal to appoint members of the new government. According to Vladimir Meciar, the president wants to have individual talks with the proposed members. He said that the probable date of the new government appointment is 15 December at 1630 GMT. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Meciar] We talked about questions of political procedures: The president asked me to screen, which I refused to do because I have not screened anyone and will not do so, either. We said that all of the members of the government pledged to chairmen of parties that they have no legal, political, state security, or any other circumstances in their lives that would prevent them from acting in the role of government member.

[Unidentified correspondent] Could it happen that if you do not submit screening certificates the president will indicate that he will not appoint some government members?

[Meciar] The president must excuse me, but the law is valid for me and for him. The prime minister has no right to screen the members of the government, and I am not even prime minister yet. So, in this case, he will have to be satisfied with the status quo. Only if he decides on screening himself, which would not be in harmony with the law.

[Correspondent] You suggested an earlier or later date. What dates were they specifically?

[Meciar] As to dates, Mr. Luptak spoke very decently on this point. He said unequivocally that all of the candidates were the result of an agreement of coalition parties that resulted from the elections. There were several candidates in the elections, numerous ones passed through the verification and trust of their political parties. If in the current delicate situation internal changes occur, it would mean a change somewhere else as well. The president reacted very nervously and suggested that we would be able to [word indistinct] in a week or in two weeks in a constitutional way, which I did not think was appropriate.

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[Correspondent] If not 15 December, what date did you propose?

[Meciar] We suggested the time before 15 December so we could stop the first round on 15 December. If not, the government should postpone it. The president suggested dates after 15 December, two other dates that are possible, but the condition is the connection with the first round of coupon privatization. [end recording]

Specifically, the date suggested was 16 or 19 December. If the government is not appointed by 15 December and the current government has started the first round of coupon privatization, according to Meciar, the president would risk having to seek a new government and the parties wanting to form it. [passage omitted]

SDL Head Outlines Policies of Future Opposition

LD1212195194 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 12 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] During a meeting between the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] and journalists, SDL Chairman Peter Weiss spoke about the latest developments in his party. He said that the party's failure in the parliamentary elections had been made up for by the local elections, in which the SDL had gained the biggest number of mayoral posts. The SDL plans to address the current complex situation by promoting its left-wing approach to politics. The SDL also intends to concentrate on demanding a solution to the problems of that part of Slovak society that, in vain, expected the changes taking place five years ago to improve its position. Our editor Bernard Hornak talked with SDL Chairman Peter Weiss about certain recent issues.

[Hornak] Yesterday the chairmen of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS—Vladimir Meciar], the Peasants' Party of Slovakia [RSS—Pavol Delinga], the Association of Workers in Slovakia [ZRS—Jan Luptak] and the Slovak National Party [SNS—Jan Slota] signed a coalition agreement. What further political developments do you expect in this context?

[Weiss] We have been waiting for the government since the elections, and it has been a long time. It is therefore good that a government has been formed. The government is made up of the parties that have won the elections and that, during their election campaign, concentrated on heavy criticism of the work of the outgoing government. Numerous election promises were made. As the opposition party, we will monitor whether these promises are being fulfilled and, at the same time, we will look for opportunities to put forward in parliament laws and measures that would be beneficial for the long-term political interest of the Slovak Republic and would facilitate the solution of the complex economic and social situation.

The SDL and its coalition partners—that is, the Social Democratic Party of Slovakia [SDSS], the Farmers' Movement [HP], and the Green Party in Slovakia [SZNS]—will form a so-called shadow cabinet, and we will present both the parliament and the public with our views on how to go about solving the problems of the Slovak Republic.

[Hornak] Among other things, Vladimir Meciar also said yesterday that the possibility of further talks with other political parties was still open, which includes the SDL.

[Weiss] We were holding talks on a high level with the HZDS. We talked very frankly about our different views concerning, for instance, economical policies or approaches to democracy and to developing democratic institutions in the sovereign Slovak Republic. We also talked about the issues decided at the already mentioned night in the parliament on 3 November. With respect to the results of these talks, the republic council of the SDL decided to be in opposition to the government comprising the HZDS, the ZRS, and the SNS. If the need arises, the SDL will negotiate with all of the parliamentary political parties about the proposed laws presented to the National Council as well as about the solution of particular economic and social issues.

[Hornak] Regarding the possibility of passing the law on the protection of the state, you said that this law was unacceptable to the SDL. Your party deputy, Mr. Fogas, said however that the law would have been acceptable if it respected the existing constitutional institutions and the division of power.

[Weiss] Our stance is that there are no extraordinary circumstances in Slovakia that would made it necessary to have a law that is a response to some kind of extraordinary situation. Our negative stance to the bill, which has been formulated in this way, results from the information we have about the notions behind this law, according to which the law intends to go beyond the existing constitutional procedures, changing certain institutions and giving thus too much power to the executive in certain situations. So there is no difference between my view and the view of the lawyer, Mr. Fogas.

Carnogursky on Wishes for New Government

LD1212165694 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1400 GMT 12 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Jan Carnogursky, chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH], has expressed the wish that the new government of the Slovak Republic will successfully exercise its powers. In a statement for TASR, he went on to say that the KDH will support the new cabinet in all the good steps it takes. However, it will oppose any bad steps. He specifically mentioned any measures by the government resulting in limiting democratic freedoms, in harming the economic interests of the country, and in lowering standards of behavior.

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Article Views New Foreign Policy Orientation

AU1312140294 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 9 Dec 94 p 10

[Article by Karol Wolf: "Bratislava Is Having Problems With Its Compass"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—When Defense Minister Pavol Kanis declared that the newly evolving ruling powers are toying with the idea of political and security neutrality for Slovakia, he was doing nothing other than openly deciphering the contents and meaning of the pronouncements being uttered by the representatives of the future government.

At a time when acting Foreign Minister Kukan is vehemently upholding Slovakia's clear orientation toward NATO and the European Union (EU), diametrically different views are being aired and—what is most important—they are being aired by the circles that will formulate future government policy.

"The workers are opposed to Slovakia's entry into NATO and the European Union, because such steps would not be to the benefit of the people of this country," declared Jan Luptak, deputy chairman of the Slovak parliament and leader of the Association of Workers of Slovakia. The Association will have three ministers in the new government and, so far, Luptak has not emitted even the slightest signal that would give an inkling that he has changed his point of view.

Slovak National Party [SNS] Chairman Jan Slota airs his views in a similar spirit. According to him, "Europe meddles too often in Slovakia's sovereign affairs" and future Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar has also sharpened his rhetoric in this connection. Remarks along the lines of "the powerful of this world would like to see Slovakia in a position that conforms to their interests," are—admittedly—dated and were voiced during the election campaign, but, in recent days and weeks, he had addressed several interesting statements to European institutions.

The majority of them are at direct variance with the program of the HZDS [Movement for a Democratic Slovakia], which proclaims unequivocally the movement's endeavor to lead Slovakia into Western economic and security structures.

In his assessments, acting Foreign Minister Kukan—who can no longer conceal the fact that, in his travels throughout the world, he is facing an ever greater barrage of questions on the direction Slovakia really intends to take following the recent el[illegible]ns—is, obviously, relying on this point of the HZD[illegible]gram.

Following the European Union's demarche to Slovakia on clarifying these very issues, the representatives of the future government only managed to state that the Union's message is not important, while SNS Chairman Slota described it as "inappropriate interference in Slovak affairs." Foreign Minister Kukan reacted to this by saying that Slota's comment "will certainly not send an encouraging signal to Brussels."

At the same time, the ambiguities surrounding Slovakia's foreign policy orientation are—according to the experts—constant and surface at regular intervals just at the time when representatives from the Union and the Alliance are looking for ways to resolve the problem of incorporating the Central European countries into these institutions.

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Kovacs on Hungarian Initiatives at Essen Summit

LD1212214094 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1830 GMT 12 Dec 94

[Interview with Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs in Budapest—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Correspondent] Hungary has now officially forwarded to the EU [European Union], or the member states of the organization, the memorandum, prepared for last weekend's Essen summit, on the matter of admission to the EU. Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs is with us here in the studio. Good evening, Mr. Minister. Following the Essen summit, optimistic statements have been published. Is there any evidence that this is not only wishful thinking?

[Kovacs] Let us see the facts. This was the first time that the heads of state and government of the EU, which now consists of 15 member states, sat down together with the heads of state and government and the foreign ministers of the six associate members, the six Central European countries which intend to join.

Second, the agenda. At this meeting the strategy of the Central European countries' admission was approved.

Third, a decision has been made that from now on a summit will be held once every year; and the foreign ministers will review the implementation of the state of the admission strategy twice a year.

Fourth, that this was the first time that a date has been mentioned. So far, the EU has not committed itself regarding the date of the beginning of talks. Now they said that talks could begin in 1996, following the intergovernmental conference. Therefore, I think that with this Essen summit and the related talks in a wider circle we have not only taken an important step forward on the way to our admission, but we have also reached a point from where there is no going back.

[Correspondent] Let us stay with the concrete matters. What is included in the memorandum?

[Kovacs] The memorandum, first and foremost, lays down the Hungarian request that the association agreement should be extended to participation in the joint foreign and security policy as well as to cooperation in internal and justice policy, that is to the second and third pillars of the Maastricht treaty.

Second, it also includes the draft of the Hungarian preparation program, outlining the economic and structural changes Hungary is preparing for, the way Hungary intends to harmonize its legal system with the legal system of the EU and the way Hungary wishes to prepare its public opinion for this.

Third, the memorandum lays down what kind of support Hungary requests from the EU for this—that is financial support through international financial institutions for economic restructuring, the extension of trans-European networks from the West to the East.

The fourth group of questions the memorandum outlines is what Hungary intends to do in the region in the interest of the strengthening of the region's political stability, the improvement of bilateral ties with its neighbors and the extension of economic relations in the region.

And, finally, it once again lays down that, in accordance with Hungary's ideas and needs, the decision on the admission of every single country has to be made individually, taking into consideration the given country's merits and performance. The countries which intend to join should not be examined en masse.

[Correspondent] Thank you very much.

Fur Views Situation of Hungarians in Romania

AU1312102794 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 9 Dec 94 p 4

[Interview with Lajos Fur, chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, by Janos Papp; place and date not given: "According to Lajos Fur's Transylvanian Experiences—The Situation of the Hungarians Has Deteriorated"]

[FBIS Translated Text] We interviewed Lajos Fur, chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], who, heading a delegation, recently visited the Szeklers.

[Papp] What was the goal of the MDF delegation's visit to Transylvania?

[Fur] Our goal was to confirm that the MDF's policy toward Hungarians living beyond the border has not changed at all although we have been in opposition since the elections. We are still advocating and trying to achieve the same goals. Through this visit, we wanted to express that the MDF's minority policy is continuous both inside and outside the borders. After the election of the national board, this was the first trip in which we held talks with the leaders of minority Hungarians.

[Papp] Is the MDF popular in Transylvania?

[Fur] I think it is; at least this was my impression during this very quick visit. We held two meetings in one day, in Kolozsvar [Cluj] and Nagyvarad [Oradea], and all along I felt the same affection being shown toward us that I had always felt in the past when I visited Transylvania either privately or as an MDF politician.

[Papp] Did you discuss the conditions of signing the Hungarian-Romanian basic agreement?

[Fur] Naturally we did, because this issue has been on the agenda for weeks and months among Hungarians over the border. I had special feelings and gained special experiences. On the one hand, it seems that some of the Transylvanian Hungarians are expecting some kind of miracle from this, a miracle that will lay down the rights

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they have been requesting for a long time for themselves. On the other hand, a fear also exists that the basic agreement would not lay down these rights with the necessary firmness and cannot guarantee their implementation. Fear and hope are mixed in the minds of the Transylvanian Hungarian minority and, for this reason, I consider it extremely important that this basic agreement should pay attention to these hopes and fears, otherwise a very bad solution might be made.

Hungarian foreign policy should never make any steps without asking the views of the minority political organizations when issues affecting the fate of the Hungarians beyond the border are on the agenda.

[Papp] In your experience, has the situation of the Transylvanian Hungarians improved since Gyula Horn's government was formed?

[Fur] My impression was that it has not improved, in fact, it has deteriorated. On the one hand, the attacks against them, which are also well known in Hungary, have become stronger; these are mainly promoted by the extreme Romanian forces, the ideologists of Funar's party, which can be said to be extreme right wing and which is now in government. There are also other signs of this; the recent report of the Romanian Intelligence Office also reflects that a kind of spiritual and political pressure is being developed against them. It is not good if the anti-minority policy becomes stronger over there because even the already acquired rights and advantages can be endangered.

[Papp] How would it be possible to help the economic situation of the Transylvanian Hungarians?

[Fur] Primarily, the Hungarians themselves have to do everything and concentrate their forces to ensure that they are not left out of privatization. They can represent their right much better if they rely on solid private property. A much better thought-out, coordinated, and targeted economic policy should have been implemented from Hungary, too, mainly by the private entrepreneurs.

Horn: Central, Local Governments Will Cooperate

LD1212183394 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 12 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] According to Prime Minister Gyula Horn, Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] party chairman, in yesterday's local government elections the Socialists repeated their parliamentary victory of May. The party's leading body, the national presidium, will decide at its session on 14 December with whom the HSP should form a coalition in the local governments, and in what way. Katalin Tasi reports:

[Begin Tasi recording] With 93 percent of the votes having been processed, 107 local governments will have a Socialist mayor, while in 21 places the successful candidates were supported by the Socialists and other parties jointly. In 53 of the 162 settlements with fewer than 10,000 inhabitants, voters chose a Socialist mayor. Thirty percent of the representatives in Budapest's local council will come from the HSP, so this will be the strongest party group in the capital.

According to Gyula Horn, there will be new power relations in the local governments. The preponderance of the liberal parties will be equalized or relieved by the left-wing HSP and the conservative parties. Speaking about the political message of the elections, the prime minister said voters support and accept the government's economic policy, which strives for financial stabilization. He thinks that the amendments to the local government law were vindicated by yesterday's vote.

According to Gyula Horn, in the light of the results, cooperation between the local governments and the central government will be harmonious. [end recording]

Peto Discusses Possible Government Reshuffle

AU1212130694 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 9 Dec 94 p 7

[Interview with Ivan Peto, chairman of the Alliance of Free Democrats, by Noemi Sumegi; place and date not given: "In Principle, One Can Talk About a Redistribution of Positions"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Sumegi] After Gyula Horn did not exclude the possibility of changes within the government, the commentaries that emerged in connection with this declaration also included the word "unfounded" provided by the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ]. I think that this only refers to rumors regarding some ministries, and not the government reshuffle.

[Peto] If Gyula Horn announces the intention to reshuffle the government, this can naturally be regarded as a founded fact. I also think that it is fortunate if he "has the power" to reshuffle the government after six months, because it is always difficult for a prime minister to part with his ministers. I do not find fortunate the way this intention is made public, because this gives rise to rumors and this makes the apparatus and even the ministers themselves uncertain. Such a reshuffle must be announced when it has some kind of function: Either to avoid the serious attacks on the government, or when the public must be prepared to accept a fait accompli. Before the local government elections, the government coalition is interested in strengthening the faith in the government and, from this point of view, I do not regard this statement as fortunate.

[Sumegi] In what connection did Gyula Horn mention his intention at the meeting of the Coalition Coordination Council last week?

[Peto] We also have informal discussions at these meetings. Secondary sentences showed that the prime minister was considering a government reshuffle. This cannot be regarded as an official information and, given

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the fact that we did not coordinate the detailed procedures, I cannot regard the prime minister's statement as a coordinated declaration.

[Sumegi] Did the prime minister mention any ministries?

[Peto] He hinted at the areas he was unsatisfied with and, based on this, I can firmly declare that the intention to reshuffle the government does not affect ministries led by SZDSZ people. [passage omitted]

[Sumegi] You visited many provincial towns during the recent election campaign. How do the people evaluate the government activity?

[Peto] Those who voted for the current opposition parties obviously reject the coalition efforts. The SZDSZ voters think that there are many difficulties, but it is important that this coalition continue to be able to function. I did not come across opinions that would urge us to give up this whole "coalitionizing" because there are many problems. Among the SZDSZ voters, there is no disappointment in the sense that the government is heading the country in a direction different from the one the SZDSZ represented at the elections. [passage omitted]

[Sumegi] If Hungary does not join the EC until the year 2000, there will obviously be a change in the government in this period of time. Is there a strategy that does not depend on any government changes?

[Peto] In addition to foreign policy and integration issues, despite the appearances, the serious part of the present opposition and the government parties agree that we must reduce the state's paternal care, patronizing, and state participation in solving the people's everyday problems. Thus, people living in Hungary must learn that, irrespective of the composition of various governments, they must find solutions for their own problems. [passage omitted]

Ministers View Hydroelectric Project Issues

LD1212201794 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1830 GMT 12 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Bos-Nagymaros hydroelectric project has so far caused a loss of 200 billion forints to Hungary. This was said at a briefing held by three ministries about the situation in the Szigetkoez area, for the leaders of the settlements concerned.

[Correspondent] According to [Environment Protection Minister] Ferenc Baja, although the current process is reversible, ecological deterioration is final in some areas. The only solution is to ensure water replenishment as soon as possible. [passage omitted]

The government ordered the ministries to draw up a scheme on optimal water replenishment by 31 December on the basis of nine existing plans. [passage omitted]

This draft could be a basis for a new round of the permanent negotiations with the Slovak side. Minister of Foreign Affairs Laszlo Kovacs highlighted the importance of the bilateral talks. According to him, the verdict of the International Court of Justice in The Hague in the matter of Bos-Nagymaros will be a Solomon-style decision. We cannot expect a verdict before the end of 1996.

[Begin Kovacs recording] There will be issues in which the Court will do justice to a greater extent to Slovakia and issues in which they do that to Hungary. This can be expected. Therfore, it is important for us to maintain the negotiating process with Slovakia. However, until the Slovak government is formed, until it is evident how important the political forces are who are backing the government or are in opposition—until then Slovakia cannot even conduct talks on an expert level. [end recording]

Finance Minister Calls Charges 'Ridiculous'

95CH0038B Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 22 Oct 94 pp 1, 4

[Unattributed report: "The Slanderous Statements Are Ridiculous, According to Bekesi; Panama Blackburn International Is the Original Petitioner for a Casino License"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Finance Minister Laszlo Bekesi presented documents to support his denial of charges printed in the latest issue of SZUPER PSZT! magazine. The magazine states that in 1990, during his previous tenure as finance minister, Bekesi signed a permit to establish a casino, of which he subsequently profited.*

At a news briefing held in his office last Friday, Finance Minister Laszlo Bekesi told a few invited journalists that in 1984, as chairman of the Hungarian Athletic Association, he and several leading sportsmen had been visiting Los Angeles. The Association's congress coincided with the Olympic Games. During their stay in Los Angeles, members of the delegation met Gyorgy Bodnar, who, together with other Hungarian emigrants residing in Los Angeles, had provided much help to leading sportsmen. Bodnar had invited the group to his home a number of times, because accommodations for the Hungarian delegation were extremely modest. Bekesi's acquaintance with Bodnar dates back to those days. Bekesi stressed that no one, including himself, had inquired about Bodnar's past, because by then Bodnar had been visiting Hungary on a regular basis, and had a clear understanding of sensible business opportunities in Hungary.

"Precisely for this reason we maintained constant contact, and I helped Bodnar launch the Classified List [Szaknevsor]," Bekesi stressed.

Bekesi categorically denied that he assisted Bodnar in opening a casino in early 1990. Based on documents presented to journalists at the briefing, it appears that on 16 February 1990 the Nemeth government's Council of Ministers promulgated a decree authorizing the finance

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minister to issue casino permits on an exceptional basis, even before the enactment of the gambling law. These casinos were to use foreign exchange in their operations. A flood of applications were received upon publication of the decree. Based on this decree, Bekesi, in his capacity as finance minister, approved eight such permits within a month. These included the predecessor to the Bodnar casino, with Panama Blackburn International, Ltd., appearing as the petitioner, and Blackburn International, Inc., as a member of the corporation. Another year passed before Gyorgy Bodnar took over the business from Blackburn, and thus his name could not have appeared on documents supporting the request for a permit.

In any event, the casinos could not have opened based on the issuance of the permit only, because even after fulfilling a number of conditions, a concessionary agreement had to be reached. The concessionary agreements were signed some time after 11 May 1990, but Bekesi was not the signatory, because the Nemeth government was out of power beginning on that day. Bekesi left the Finance Ministry at that point.

Recalling the events of 1990, Bekesi said that in those days he gave serious thought to either remaining in the political arena or pursuing business. It was at that point that Gyorgy Bodnar came to see him, asking Bekesi to become a member of the supervisory committee of one of his limited-liability corporations. This is how Bekesi became the chairman of HTD Ltd.'s supervisory committee on 1 July 1990. As all members of boards and supervisory committees, Bekesi, too, received nontransferable, nonsalable, nonnegotiable business shares of a nominal value of 100,000 forints. Bekesi resigned this office on 30 June 1994, after the elections, and the ownership share reverted to the HTD. A comparison of the dates will make clear that he did not receive financial advantages for the issuance of a casino permit, Bekesi stressed. "These slanderous statements are ridiculous and in bad taste," the finance minister concluded.

After documenting his statement, Laszlo Bekesi declared that in his view SZUPER PSZT! did not act alone in making these slanderous statements. As finance minister he renders decisions every day that conflict with views held by one or another interest group. For this reason Bekesi believes that certain persons might want to discredit his person, thus also rendering moot the government's economic policy plan.

Responding to questions Bekesi said that he had discussed this matter with Gyula Horn, and that the prime minister, too, advised him to deny the charges to the press. When asked if he wanted to file suit against SZUPER PSZT!, Bekesi had this to say: "This newspaper has published countless absurd accusations and slanderous statements against and about me." He did not file suits before, and he does not want to be part of a distasteful debate at this time either. Whether the government initiates legal action on grounds of libel is still an open question. Responding to a question, the finance minister said that he did not and will not sever his relations with Gyorgy Bodnar, because in his view, Bodnar is a go-getter, a businessman full of ideas, and it did not even occur to Bekesi to check Bodnar's background.

Warning Strike Begins at Steel Plant in Diosgyor

LD1312094494 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0900 GMT 13 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] In Diosgyor, the warning strike by workers at the steel plant is beginning at this moment. The steel workers, who are fighting for their jobs, want to draw the government's attention to the fact that a solution to the problems of the Borsod foundry can be delayed no longer.

The government promised to prepare by the middle of this month the reorganization of Borsod smelting, but according to those concerned, nothing has been done to prepare thoroughly for the decision.

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Ministry: Chechnya Russian 'Internal Affair'

LD1212223394 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 2200 GMT 12 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The Polish Foreign Ministry has issued an official statement on the events in Chechnya.

The events taking place in Chechnya are Russia's internal affair. We hope that ultimate stabilization in that country will be achieved through political means. We also hope that the present use of military force and bloodshed connected with it will be reduced to a minimum.

Kolodko on Result of Visit to Japan, ROK

LD1212202094 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1800 GMT 12 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Grzegorz Kolodko, deputy prime minister and minister of finance, who accompanied President Walesa on his official visits to Japan and South Korea, said today that the aim of the high-level meetings was not to arrange government credits for Poland but to create the appropriate conditions and climate, and also (?improvements) to attract Japanese and Korean investments .

[Begin Kolodko recording] The aim of this visit was not to arrange any kind of official credits for Poland from the Japanese Government, although this issue was raised during the plenary conference, with the participation of President Walesa, other delegation members from the Japanese side, Prime Minister Murayama, and Finance Minister Takemura. The stance of the Japanese Government has three points: that the Japanese Government will return to this issue, in the positive sense, if first the very high indicators of growth in the Polish economy are maintained; second, if those directions of activity are maintained that have been agreed upon with the IMF; and third, if the Polish economy begins the capital repayments of the credits we owe Japan, which in terms of the calendar that is binding on us we are obliged to do only beginning in September 1995.

The fundamental aim of this visit, on the economic side, was the creation of the appropriate conditions and climate, and the achievement of certain agreements serving to attract direct investments, Japanese and Korean, to Poland. The Japanese Government will grant guarantees associated with the inflow of direct Japanese investments to Poland. [end recording]

Party Officials on Early Elections, Constitution

LD1212214194 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 2000 GMT 12 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The Conservative Coalition [KK] will be appealing that the draft of the new constitution be rejected in a referendum. The leaders of this group think that the left wing intends to create a socialist basic law.

[Begin recoreding] [Correspondent Wojciech Nomejko] According to the KK, there is a serious danger that the constitution to be passed will weaken the role of private ownership and give a centralized state responsibility for the economic development of the country. Moreover, the KK is in favor of conducting parliamentary elections next year alongside the presidential elections.

[Michal Ujazdowski, KK] The fight between Lech Walesa and the government coalition has the characteristics of a fight between two selfish interests. It is not about the real issues of the country. We think that next year Poland will need both a better president and a better parliament. A constitutional referendum is a method by which the power of the present political camp can be questioned.

[Nomejko] In addition, the Center Alliance [PC] is in favor of early elections. In a resolution adopted by the PC, the party has outlined two legal options as to how the term in office of the Sejm and the Senate could be shortened. They are either a victory of the opposition in a constitutional referendum or a victory in the presidential elections. However, Lech Walesa has been ruled out as a candidate of the right wing.

[Jaroslaw Kaczynski, PC] He is ruled out because of the four years he has been in power and because of the fact that he has been very openly voicing political concepts that have very little to do with democracy and that, in Polish conditions, simply mean the introduction of an authoritarian government in one form or another, if not to say dictatorship in the very meaning of the word.

[Nomejko] The Secretariat of Center-Right Groupings [SUC] has decided that one should prevent next year's budget being passed.

[Adam Glapinski, SUC] If the government persists with this budget and this economic policy, there will be a very serious social confrontation. In this confrontation, we shall, of course, support the public against those who are in the government and against economic errors that are being made.

[Nomejko] The financial plan for the state during 1995 is, according to SUC representatives, harmful to Poland and is against reforms and society. [end recording]

Prime Minister Responds to Labor Union Leader

LD1212163494 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1300 GMT 12 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak has replied to a letter written by Union of Labor [UP] leader Ryszard Bugaj, in which he asked how he should understand the minister of finance's remarks that followed the rejection of the presidential veto of the personal taxation law. Minister Grzegorz Kolodko said then that lowering the 20-percent threshold for the lowest paid in 1995 depended on the introduction of

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price indexation of pensions. Before the vote, it was agreed that the lowering of the threshold would be unconditional.

This agreement was signed by chairmen on behalf of their parliamentary floor groups, the prime minister wrote. This is, therefore, an obligation for the government irrespective of any doubts expressed by certain politicians or even members of the government.

According to the prime minister, to suspect those members of the coalition who signed the agreement with UP of not intending to keep to the letter of the agreement would be to draw overly hasty conclusions, with no basis in reality.

National Bank Announces 1995 Fiscal Policy

WS1212161394 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 12 Dec 94 p 18

[Article by Piotr Orlik: "Commission Approved NBP 'Assumptions'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Lowering the inflation rate to approximately 17 percent is the fundamental objective for the fiscal policy of the National Bank of Poland [NBP] for next year. The assumptions of the central bank were approved by deputies from the Sejm Budget Commission on Saturday.*

Developing the assumptions for its 1995 fiscal policy, the NBP used the governmental Strategy for Poland as a reference. Thus, the main objective for the central bank will be lowering the inflation rate to 17 percent (from December 1994 to December 1995).

According to the NBP, the central bank's operations alone will not be enough to attain such a low level of inflation next year because substantial limiting of Treasury bond purchases carried out by the NBP will lower inflation to a mere 19 percent. Lowering inflation by a further 2 percent requires, according to the NBP, more involvement on the part of the government.

Witold Kozinski, the deputy president of the NBP, stated on Saturday that it is possible to lower the inflation rate by eliminating the following obstacles: the pending huge increase of government-controlled prices, the unresolved issue of control over salaries in state enterprises, and the still excessively high level of monopolization in the economy. According to the NBP, the government should admit many more competitive foreign companies to the market than it has thus far.

On Saturday, Kozinski repeated the NBP stand that this year's inflation, higher than the government had projected (approximately 28 percent instead of 23), is, to a huge extent, due to the loosening of control over earnings.

Deputy Finance Minister Krzysztof Kalicki told Deputy President Kozinski that this year the NBP fiscal policy, consisting of an excessive money supply on the market, had a far greater influence on the growth of inflation.

Assuming the 17-percent inflation rate in the document that was discussed on Saturday, the NBP projected that the minimum level of interest rates in the central bank would be 21-25 percent, and the exchange rate of the zloty [Z] to the dollar should be Z27,200-28,900.

Apart from discussing tasks related to attaining the projected rate of inflation, the deputies devoted a considerable amount of time to the Polish banking system. Although the NBP is very optimistic regarding the future of Polish banks, the commission believes they should be more effective for the economy and should guarantee the safety of deposits to a larger extent.

According to the deputies, establishing the Banking Guarantee Fund raises hopes for improving the situation. The NBP assumes that its functioning will cause bank operating costs to grow slightly and will raise public trust for Polish banks. As a result of implementing a system for protecting savings, the NBP claims, saving methods may change—smaller amounts would be deposited in a larger number of banks.

Finally, the deputies decided on Saturday that, by 30 June 1995, the government and the NBP would develop a strategy for strengthening the banking system and would submit it to the Sejm.

Increase in Narcotics Smuggling Noted

95EP0014A Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 5 Oct 94 p 3

[Article by Andrzej Walentek: "Where There Are Six 'Cooks'..."]

[FBIS Translated Text] Specialists in combating the production, smuggling, and sale of narcotics say Poland is playing an increasingly greater role in the international market in narcotic substances. The evidence consists of both the greater number of confiscations of narcotics and the increased participation of Polish citizens in their distribution throughout Europe.

In 1990, there was one case of attempted smuggling of narcotics across Poland's borders; in 1993, there were 38. In all, more than seven tons of various narcotic substances have been confiscated so far, which, according to experts, is 15-20 percent of the total amount smuggled. All of the world's major cartels are interested in Poland as an important link in their shipping routes.

In countries that are seriously trying to combat the narcotics business, there are on average 300-400 police and officials of the special services investigating only these crimes per million inhabitants. In Poland, these resources are much more modest. This greatly reduces their effectiveness.

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We also lack coordination among the services combating the narcobusiness. The police, the Office of State Protection, the Border Guard, and the customs officials are involved. Each of these services is striving to achieve small, spectacular successes instead of carrying out an exact study of the operations. Such a policy stops only a few shipments of narcotics and loses the opportunity of getting to their organizers.

Poles are taking an increasingly active role in the distribution of narcotics throughout Europe. Last year, about 100 Poles were arrested on charges of smuggling narcotics. Data for the first half of 1994 indicate that this number will be exceeded.

Poland is not only a stage on the smuggling route but also an increasingly important producer of one of the synthetic narcotics—amphetamines. In 1991, 5 kg of this narcotic were confiscated, but two years later 75 kg were seized. "Amfa made in Poland" now constitutes 15-25 percent of the available narcotics on the black markets of Germany, Sweden, and Denmark.

In the United States, thanks to the massive influx of Polish amphetamines, their value has fallen from $8,000 to $3,500 per kg. Poland is second in the world in terms of the amount of amphetamines produced, and, because of their high quality, Polish amphetamines are in special demand among dealers.

During the first half of 1994, attempts to smuggle nearly one-half ton of benzylmethyl ketone, the raw material for the production of amphetamines, into Poland were discovered. It is enough to produce about one-half ton of the narcotic whose black-market value would be about $20 million.

In 1993, the police liquidated three well-hidden laboratories producing this narcotic. Specialists say that amphetamines soon will displace "kompot," currently the most popular substance among Polish addicts. In a new report, the Office of State Protection reveals information on the discovery of preparations to produce amphetamines on a very large scale.

The value of world trade in narcotics is estimated at $300-400 billion. The colossal profits made by dealers are legalized by introducing the funds into the international financial circulation. This usually happens by opening a large number of bank accounts from which the funds are transferred to other accounts belonging to firms controlled by the narcotic mafias. According to the Polish special services, Poland, because of the insufficient effectiveness of the auditing of financial transactions, is probably a site for the execution of such operations on a large scale.

The experience of countries with long exposure to efforts to combat the well-organized narcotics cartels indicates that only a well-coordinated effort of all services investigating the production, smuggling, and sale of narcotic substances produces effective results.

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Dumitrescu Calls For President's Resignation

AU1212140294 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 7 Dec 94 p 3

[Article by Constantin Ticu Dumitrescu, chairman of the Association of Former Political Detainees and National Peasant Christian Democratic Party senator: "An Appeal of Despair: The Time Has Come, Mr. Iliescu!"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The people of this country hated [Nicolae] Ceausescu for the cold in their homes and the empty shelves in the food stores;

For his pompous visits, guarded by the hundreds of Securitate people who accompanied him everywhere;

For the gold-polished palaces in which he sprawled in leisure with the "Academician" [Ceausescu's wife, Elena];

For confiscating and falsifying history to the benefit of his paranoia and for his penchant for fetes of all kinds, which reached truly ridiculous proportions;

For his working visits; For the destroyed villages and churches, which were above all else crimes against the people;

For the fact that, he himself, was an assassin;

And finally, for the omnipresent Securitate and for the terror and lies that swept over Romania.

On 22 December 1989, we replaced Comrade Nicu (or, better said: "they" replaced him) with another comrade, who had been emancipated through all kinds of universities in Moscow, that city so dear to us....

However, we woke up pretty fast from the euphoria of freedom won at the price of our blood. Then we realized that we have actually gained nothing. On on the contrary!

Because the cold still reigns in our homes, and the food is so expensive that most of us cannot afford to buy it. [passage omitted] And our "Comrade," (that is, the "man in Cotroceni," as I call him), is currently exceeding the poor shoemaker [Ceausescu's initial profession] in almost all his excesses, with every passing day. [passage omitted]

Five years have passed since the revolution—five years of little achievement and very many and serious failures for Romania and the Romanian people. Blind and deaf (to the point of irresponsibility and defiance) toward the economic crisis and the all-prevalent chaos, those who stole the revolution have killed all hope, and seem to live on another planet. They look after only their own interests, and becoming richer overnight through fraud and corruption, at the expense of the national economy, by covering each other's back without any fear. While the majority of the people are becoming increasingly poor and desperate, the authorities have the audacity to assure us that all is well.

We freeze in our homes, and they have the gall to tell us that we are warm.

The need for truth, reconciliation, and change are not and cannot be understood by Ion Iliescu and his like. That is why, despite his visits and the billions of lei spent on them, Romania's image abroad is bad (even though the country's president and his acolytes assure us of the contrary).

It is known that our only chance of coming out of the economic crisis into which we have been brought is by attracting foreign investments, since we need an infusion of foreign capital to get out of this state of economic and moral collapse in which we are slowly but surely dying.

Therefore, Mr. Iliescu's foreign image should be repaired here, in Romania, not with money and lies but with facts and good faith. [passage omitted] This is the real truth and the result of the policy conducted by the current government produces a lack of credibility! [passage omitted]

The time has come, Mr. Iliescu, before it is too late, before the people are turned one against the other, before despair sets in, and before we are turned—let us all be careful about that!—into another Yugoslavia!

Dissolve Parliament and convene early elections.

Dismiss the government and entrust an upright magistrate, without roots in the Securitate or in the pleiad of people's assessors, with the task of forming a new provisional government!

As for you, you should resign!

You will thus prove—at least now—that you know how to respect the risks and laws of democracy.

Save the country and also yourself!

If you fail to understand this appeal of despair and reality, you will not be saved by the special anti-terrorist fighting units, by tanks, or by dogs! Just remember the example of 22 December 1989!

Opposition Leaders Address Civic Alliance Rally

AU1212202194 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 1 Dec 94 p 2

[Unattributed report on speeches by opposition leaders at the rally-cum-gala show organized by the Civic Alliance at Bucharest Palace Hall on 25 November: "Unity, Unity, Unity"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [passage omitted] Corneliu Coposu: "Today, the despair is determined by the fact that now, five years after the [December 1989] Revolution, when 1,400 young people shed their blood, we see that the ideals for which these martyrs sacrificed their lives are being trampled underfoot. We can see that abuses are flourishing, and are turned into ruling

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methods. Corruption has reached peaks never experienced in our history. The party that considers itself the majority party has no other objective than to seize all crucial domains of the nation in the area of administration, justice, education, and the entire economy in our country. According to them, this attempt to seize everything serves the future elections, which, I can say most seriously now, they will not win. The Romanian people are fed up with lies. The Romanian people have been tricked for four years, and have been lied to, and there is no person that cannot now realize the deplorable state in which the incompetence of the government and political regime has thrown the Romanian nation. Seventy-five percent of the country's population is living below poverty level. There is no doubt that we have a government that cannot fulfill its promises. This is a government that started to administer the country without a government program—not even a minimum emergency program. What do we really want? We want to establish the truth, to restore democratic institutions that have been trampled underfoot by the Soviet occupation. In order to succeed in our endeavor, we must be united, and the disparity between democratic parties that follow the same goal should stop. The Civic Alliance is in the forefront and is leading us on the path of the unity of all rational Romanians to attain our joint goal. We hope that shortly, the unity of the opposition in Romania and the solidarity of those who believe in a free, democratic, and happy Romania will allow us to put an end to these crypto-communist regimes and install a true democracy in a Romania that deserves to have a better fate and join the ranks of civilized countries in Europe."

Emil Constantinescu: "The CDR [Democratic Convention of Romania] is the political will of millions of people for renewal, reform, and democracy. We, our families and our children, all together and each of us separately, wish to lead a decent life in a clean country that is respected both by us and by others abroad. We have assembled here in this hall to voice clearly the questions regarding the road our nation has to travel in this period. Why, how, and with whom? Why, five years after the bloody revolution, in which young people shed their blood, are we in this situation? Why in 1992 did all those who are in power today promise reform without pain and gave us pain without reform? Why is the economy an organized chaos? Why is confusion in this country a state policy? Because it defends the interests of a limited group of people who represent the former Communist political, administrative, and economic bureaucracy and who, in the past year, have been joined by a mafia-type circle that ensures its cohesion and stability on the basis of a complicity of interests. Where can such a policy lead? This can only lead to Romania's development as a banana republic without banana trees, as a Third World republic led by an anachronistic, rich, and arrogant oligarchy while a whole nation becomes increasingly poorer and becomes disoriented, and thus easier to control. We can no longer limit ourselves to criticizing those in power. We must bring forward our own solutions. We need to come up with concrete solutions for each sector, for each sphere of activity in people's lives, and for each socio-professional group. We need to come up with clear and precise solutions that will demonstrate that we are competent and that we know not only how to win power but also what to do after we win it, and how to manage a country that has reached this situation because it is managed badly. We will have to answer a general question: Why should a citizen vote for us, whether he is young or old; whether a pensioner or an active professional; whether a worker, a peasant, or an intellectual? He has to vote for us because he is at the center of our offer, a person with real needs and not a chimera. This is the most noteworthy difference between our program and the program of the current government. The government program serves the interests of the groups that generated it. Now, the issue has to be set in a new way, very clearly, very plainly. The current acute situation and the fact that this government does not have a proper strategy for Romania's future compels us to act. The government only mimes the strategy of the opposition—even our strategy. It has succeeded in tricking the West. It has succeeded in penetrating Western structures. But what will happen now? We have to offer not only a slogan, not only a word, but a clear political instrument with which to win the elections. And this clear political instrument can be only the unitary, firm, and decisive political force that is the Democratic Convention. We need a strong political force that ensures Romania's change. But we also need something else. We also need people who should work in the structures of this power. And in this way, we touch on a key issue. We not only need platforms and programs, not only need ideas and ideals—because we have both these things—we need personalities, people, who should assume direct political responsibility for all these functions, who can ensure the implementation of this program. If you ask us political leaders to win over another 2 million people, you should also ask yourselves to do something very simple: Each of you should convince another person, and then we will certainly win.

I am asking you: Do not let yourselves and those around you be engulfed in apathy and repulsion. And if we succeed, I will call on you not only to rebuild our hopes together but also to build up the certitude of our success. Victory!" [passage omitted]

Iliescu Promotes Intelligence Service Officers

AU1312115994 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 30 Nov 94 p 16

[Report by Dan Andronic and Radu Tudor: "President Ion Iliescu Has Promoted Four SRI Colonels to the Rank of Lieutenant-General"]

[FBIS Translated Text] By decree of President Ion Iliescu issued yesterday, and at the proposal of Professor Dr. Virgil Magureanu, director of the SRI [Romanian Intelligence Service], four SRI officers who until now

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had the rank of colonel have been promoted to lieutenant-general. The four are: Dumitru Badescu, chief of the Economic Counterespionage Division; Valeriu Corsatea, deputy commander of the Antiterrorist Brigade; Nicusor Dumitru, chief of the Dobrogea Operational Center; and Vasile Lupu, chief of the Counterespionage Division. The ceremony took place at SRI main headquarters.

By courtesy of the SRI Press Office, EVENIMENTUL ZILEI is in an exclusive position to present to its readers excerpts from the speeches made yesterday on that occasion by Professor Magureanu and by Doru Viorel Ursu, member of the Chamber of Deputies, the latter on behalf of the parliamentary panel exerting control over the SRI.

Dr. Magureanu: "From Now on, a Forced March Begins"

"Gentlemen, at these moments, on the eve of our great national holiday, we also ought to consider the fact that while certain things have been solved, others are waiting to be dealt with. What I mean is—and I am quoting Mr. Ursu, who is present here, from his speech made in parliament—that certain passages of our report were, perhaps, exceedingly comforting as concerns the highlighted threats. Other members of the parliamentary panels have expressed similar views. It is true that our perception of the situation is a comforting one, just as much as it can be. Nevertheless, I believe that is not as comforting as we would wish it to be, and to report on the basis of current reality. Therefore, from now on, gentlemen, a forced march begins. Since it has been publicly acknowledged that ours is an institution from which a great deal is expected, there is a whole set of expectations. Thus, we have to march twice as fast as before. (...) Once again, I wish you all success, and my congratulations!"

Chamber of Deputies Member Doru Viorel Ursu: "The Balance Has Become Favorable to You"

"There are perceptions, becoming increasingly clear, that you managed to overturn that balance (Doru Viorel Ursu is referring to the handicap under which the SRI has set out initially to reestablish the authority of the Romanian state—editor's note), which was not to your favor, to an extent that I believe makes you now appear as an institution having authority and—without intending to offend anyone, but I have the courage to say what I think, as I always have—now the balance has become favorable to you. This is why, on the occasion of your promotion, on behalf of the joint Senate and Chamber of Deputies parliamentary panel exerting control over the SRI, I would like to express our sincere congratulations and wish you health, devotion, and much success in your activity, carried out to the benefit of the security of our homeland, Romania."

From sources close to the presidency, we learned that on occasion of Romania's 1 national day, 1 December, promotions will take place at other intelligence services as well, within the SRI, the UM 0215 [intelligence service of the Interior Ministry], and others. It is also noteworthy that Major General Dan Gheorghe, commander of the Interior Ministry Intelligence Service, was promoted to the rank of lieutenant general [as published].

General Says MiG Pilots Insufficiently Trained

AU1312095394 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 29 Nov 94 p 3

[Report by Gabriela Dima: "In Case of War, Romanian Pilots Are Certain Victims"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The remarks of Reserve General Stefan Boian, former jet pilot, sum up the current state of affairs in the Romanian Air Force. Since 1991, 35 military pilots have died while flying MiG fighters. In most cases, the tragic accidents were the result of pilot error. This is also the conclusion of the report on the last such occurrence, which took place on 14 September in Furculesti-Alexandria and whose victim was Captain Adrian Trusca. Why do flying errors dominate the landscape of the Romanian Air Force? The answer is also given by General Stefan Boian: "Only insufficient flight-training or incorrect training can be the reason for flying errors!" From this point of view, the situation is very clear. The minimum flying time for a Romanian pilot is 20 flying hours, while NATO pilots reach up to 180 flying hours. The maximum flying time is 64 hours for Romanian pilots, while a NATO pilot flies 240 hours per year. General Boian also mentions that: "To schedule 40 flying hours per year when others schedule 180-240 hours is the best evidence—and in addition to this, not even the 40 hours are performed. There are units in the Romanian Air Force that performed approximately half of the scheduled hours and there are pilots who have only flown a few times this year! A lack of proper expertise and of perfection in preparing each flight is fatal in aviation." The particular stress-generating situations pilots have to face—such as danger, confinement to a narrow space, acceleration, and low air pressure—all require special living conditions. But these are precisely the conditions that a Romanian pilot is lacking. A jet pilot's monthly income, with all the extra benefits, does not exceed 300,000 lei per month. In order to lead a decent life, immediately after 1990, the pilots started to take various additional jobs. Most of the time they were working as taxi drivers at night. A decree from the defense minister banned this practice because it was considered undignified for a military man. So then, in order to make ends meet, they found other solutions: They took up gardening and animal-breeding. Today, a pilot's training program begins with feeding the animals. Apart from all this, veteran pilots are threatened by the prospects of being evicted, along with their families, from their inadequate dwellings in order to make room for younger cadres. And all this in a situation when out of 300 combat aircraft, only 5 percent are modern MiG-29 type planes. Almost half of the combat aircraft

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are Soviet-made planes more than 20 years old. Many of the aircraft that crashed did not undergo required repairs on time (the maintenance expenses for a MiG fighter amount to $40,000 a year), and many of the Romanian aircraft are completely worn out because the money required for repair work has not been allotted. This is the reason why the Romanian Air Force registers the same number of accidents as the Western countries but with a number of flying hours three times lower than the hours in those countries. In this case, can the conclusion reached by General Boian surprise us? Minister of Defense Gheorghe Tinca, one of the guests invited to a roundtable program organized by the BBC, completed General Boian's affirmations with the following statement: "The sums allotted in the 1995 budget for the Air Force are much higher. However, they will not be enough to improve the situation. This cannot be achieved in one year! The only thing I can guarantee is that, just as in 1994—when the Air Force received more financial means and thus was able to fly more—we will expand this practice!"

Law on Organization, Functioning of Presidency

95P20230A Bucharest MONITORUL OFICIAL in Romanian No 175, 11 Jul 94 p 2

["Text" of Law No. 47 of 7 July 1994 on the organization and functioning of the presidency of Romania]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Parliament of Romania adopts the present law:

Article 1—The Presidency of Romania, a public institution functioning as a legal person, with headquarters in Cotroceni Palace, Bucharest Municipality, is organized and operates for the exercise by the President of Romania of the prerogatives established by the Constitution of Romania and other laws.

In the present law, the term Presidency of Romania means the public services available to the president of Romania for the exercise of his powers.

Article 2—The departments and functions in the structure of the Presidency of Romania, its organization, operation, and powers are stipulated by the Regulation on the Organization and Functioning of the Presidency of Romania, which is approved by the President of Romania.

The maximum number of positions in the Presidency of Romania is 180.

Article 3—The specific leadership functions in the Presidency of Romania are the following: presidential counselor, with the rank of minister; and state counselor, with the rank of state secretary.

The presidential counselor for defense and national security is a member of the country's Supreme Defense Council.

Article 4—The President of Romania appoints the presidential counselors or removes them from their positions.

Appointments or removals in other functions in the departments of the Presidency are carried out in accordance with the provisions of the Regulation on the Organization and Functioning of the Presidency of Romania.

Article 5—The Presidency of Romania establishes contacts for collaborating with public authorities and receives their support in carrying out the functions and exercising the powers belonging to the President of Romania.

Article 6—The financing of the operating expenses of the Presidency of Romania comes from the state budget and extra-budgetary income, which is produced, managed and accounted for in accordance with the law.

Article 7—In addition to its own headquarters, the Presidency of Romania can manage other space allocated by government decision.

The Cotroceni National Museum occupies space allocated to it in the old part of Cotroceni Palace, as a distinct institution subordinate to the Ministry of Culture.

The entire Cotroceni Palace complex is managed by the departments of the Presidency of Romania.

Article 8—Law No. 1/1990 on the Organization and Operation of the Services of the Presidency of Romania and any other provisions contrary to this law are repealed as of the date the present law goes into effect.

This law was adopted by the Senate at its 29 June 1994 session, in observance of the provisions of Article 74, Paragraph 2 of the Constitution of Romania.

For the President of the Senate: [signed] Ion Solcanu

This law was adopted by the Chamber of Deputies at its 29 June 1994 session, in observance of the provisions of Article 74, Paragraph 2 of the Constitution of Romania.

[Signed] President of the Chamber of Deputies: Adrian Nastase

Bucharest, 7 July 1994

No. 47

Increased Money-Laundering Activity Alleged

95P20253A Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 28 Nov 94 p 1

[Article by Mugurel Radulescu: "$10 Billion in Counterfeit Currency Is in Circulation in the World—The Conference on Money-Laundering in States Undergoing Transition Opens Tomorrow in Strasbourg"]

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[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The threat represented by the maneuvering of counterfeit currency and of large sums of dirty money is hanging over the states of East Europe more and more. Each year, more than $300 billion are "laundered" in the world, and the sums of money circulated by organized crime in East Europe are increasing. The absence of adequate structures and legislative provisions make the former communist states an easy mark for mafia-type organizations that could compromise the stability of the new democracies.

Under these conditions, the conference on money-laundering in the states undergoing transition, which opens tomorrow in Strasbourg at the initiative of the Council of Europe, is part of a global strategy for combating organized crime. Numerous aspects of the war against this scourge will be examined in three working groups: juridical, financial and law enforcement. The Council of Europe has also organized a number of meetings for the purpose of discussing and combating corruption and money-laundering. In regard to "dirty money," the Council of Europe has a convention that stipulates that the contracting parties must include in their legislation provisions permitting the confiscation of assets resulting from criminal activity. If the assets or the money have been transferred abroad—for example, in bank accounts—the signatory states will cooperate to confiscate or freeze them. Also, the convention states that banking secrets must not be an obstacle in the path of such cooperation. As far as Romania is concerned, the subject does not seem to be very important to the authorities, despite the fact that Romania has become a veritable turntable for such business. The convention mentioned above was not signed by the Bucharest government which, in addition, will not be represented by a high-ranking official at the Strasbourg conference.

Religious Presence in Army Restored

95P20220A Bucharest AZI in Romanian 23 Nov 94 p 2

[Article by Marius Huc: "After 50 Years: The Army and the Church, Together Again"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "The presence of the military chaplain is beneficial for the Romanian soldier; the chaplain is a moral support and a catalyzer of the soldiers' energies," said Colonel General Dumitru Cioflina, chief of the General Staff of the Romanian Army, upon opening the seminar on "The Army and the Church in Romanian Society—Traditions and Actuality," organized by the Religious Assistance Department of the Cultural Directorate of the Army.

The seminar took place "under the aegis of a necessary moral revival," according to Major Gen. Mircea Muresan, head of the Cultural Directorate, who presented a brief review of relations between the Church and the Army beginning with the establishment of the modern Romanian Army 150 years ago and continuing with World War I, a moment marked by the generalization of religious services in the Army; the 1924 law on military chaplains; and the prohibition on relations between the Army and the Church imposed by the Communist authorities in 1948.

The resumption of these relations was sealed on 23 November, bridging the 50-year void in relations between the Army and the Church, thereby seeking to compensate for the moral damage and to restore the peace of the inner life of all the nation's soldiers—beginning with the young conscripts, since, as the Most Reverend Teotectist stressed in his address, "faith and Christianity did not come from the rulers but from below, from the apostolic zeal of St. Andrew." To welcome this important event, a protocol was circulated in all military units inviting priests to military oath-taking ceremonies, not just "to appear in the photo" but to officiate at the service on the occasion of this special moment in the life of a Romanian soldier.

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Serbs Allow Partial Reopening of Sarajevo Airport

AU1312115894 Paris AFP in English 0904 GMT 13 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Dec 13 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb officials have given the go-ahead for a partial reopening of Sarajevo airport but only to allow rotation of UN Protection Force troops, a UN official said Tuesday.

The accord was given Monday night in the Serb stronghold of Pale east of the capital in a meeting between local Serb officials and General Michael Rose, the commander-in-chief of the UN Protection Force in Bosnia, said UNPROFOR spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Jan-Dirk von Merveldt.

He said a specific request must be made to Pale for each flight, then "as soon as the papers work the flights will start."

Sarajevo airport has been closed since November 19 to planes with relief aid from the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Since then, only a few UN planes have been allowed in.

UNHCR food reserves in the city are running low following the three-week closure of Sarajevo airport and the blocking of convoys.

Bosnian Serbs made one exception Monday, allowing a small fuel convoy into the city.

Rose Reports Serbs To Resolve Problems With UN

AU1212213394 Paris AFP in English 2117 GMT 12 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Dec 12 (AFP)—UN Bosnia commander Lieutenant-General Sir Michael Rose said Monday the Bosnian Serb leadership had given him good guarantees that outstanding problems in Bosnia would be resolved, Serb television reported.

Rose, who spoke after meeting Serb leaders in their stronghold of Pale, near Sarajevo, was quoted by Serb-controlled television, who transmitted his comments dubbed into Serb-Croat.

Ahead of the meeting, a UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman said Rose was close to demanding a pullout of UN troops from Bosnia unless the Serbs agreed to "minimum conditions."

Commenting on an interview in which Rose told CNN television that he would "recommend a withdrawal" if minimum conditions for the UN mission were not obtained, spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Jan-Dirk von Merveldt said "he wouldn't have mentioned it in public if he weren't close to it."

The necessary conditions to make the UN peacekeeping mission in Bosnia viable included "freedom of movement, non-targeting of UN personnel, and access for convoys," von Merveldt said.

For his part, Bosnian Serb number two Nikola Koljevic said after the meeting that his self-declared "government" had no wish to force UNPROFOR to depart, but rather to "ask it to behave properly," the television reported.

General Milan Gvero, deputy commander of the Serb forces, charged that UNPROFOR had failed to adhere to "the administrative rules" in ensuring its convoys were permitted to pass through Serb checkpoints.

Gvero said he also regretted not obtaining guarantees from Rose that North Atlantic Treaty Organisation warplanes would refrain from airstrikes against Bosnian Serb-held territory—a precondition the Serb commander had set for permitting Sarajevo airport to reopen.

Rose met Serb leaders to protest obstruction of the UN mission, including a ban announced Sunday on armoured escorts for UN relief convoys, hijacking of UN fuel convoys, restrictions on freedom of movement, and continued Serb attacks on a UN-designated safe area in the northwest Moslem enclave of Bihac.

The British general was expected back in Sarajevo late Monday.

UN spokesmen have reported "unprecedented" levels of Serb hostility and harassment in recent weeks amid increasing threats by France and Britain to withdraw their contingents from UNPROFOR.

Rose Reportedly Close To Recommending Withdrawal

AU1212190894 Paris AFP in English 1851 GMT 12 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Dec 12 (AFP)—The commander of UN forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina, General Michael Rose, is close to demanding a pullout of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] unless "minimum conditions" can be obtained, an UNPROFOR spokesman said Monday.

Commenting on an interview in which Rose told CNN television that he would "recommend a withdrawal" if minimum conditions for the UN mission were not obtained, spokesman Lt.-Col. Jan-Dirk von Merveldt said "he wouldn't have mentioned it in public if he weren't close to it."

The necessary conditions to make the UN peacekeeping mission in Bosnia viable included "freedom of movement, non-targeting of UN personnel, and access for convoys," von Merveldt said.

Whatever the general recommended, he noted, it was "up to the UN Security Council to decide whether or not to accept."

Rose was speaking in Sarajevo prior to heading for Pale, "capital" of the self-proclaimed Serb Republic, where he

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met Serb leaders to protest at obstruction of the UN mission, including a ban announced Sunday on armoured escorts for UN relief convoys, hijacking of UN fuel convoys, restrictions on freedom of movement, and continued Serb attacks on a UN-designated safe area in the northwestern enclave of Bihac.

While Rose was in Pale a rocket slammed into a UN armoured vehicle at Velika Kladusa, in the north of the enclave, wounding five Bangladeshi peacekeepers, one critically.

UN spokesmen have reported "unprecedented" levels of Serb hostility and harassment in recent weeks amid increasing threats by France and Britain to withdraw their contingents from UNPROFOR.

Rose was expected back in Sarajevo late Monday.

Karadzic Warns NATO Against Assisting Pullout

AU1212192994 Paris AFP in English 1919 GMT 12 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Belgrade, Dec 12 (AFP)—The West will slip into a Vietnam-style quagmire if NATO gets involved in any withdrawal of UN troops from Bosnia, Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic warned Monday [12 December].

"If NATO gets directly involved, it will create a new Vietnam and will have catastrophic consequences," the BETA news agency quoted Karadzic as saying in the Serb stronghold of Pale near Sarajevo.

He was apparently referring to reports from Brussels that every NATO country, with the exception of Iceland, which has no military forces, had been asked to give an indication of how many troops and what equipment they would be willing to provide for a withdrawal operation.

Karadzic said that if the UN force is in fact to be pulled out, this should be done through Serb-held territory "because no one can provide UNPROFOR with greater security than the Serb republic."

He also accused the UN force of siding with the Moslem-led government in Sarajevo by calling in NATO airstrikes last month against Serb targets around the Bihac pocket in northwest Bosnia.

"UNPROFOR must know that after the bombardment of Bihac at its request, relations between it and the people and leaders of the Serb republic will never be the same," Karadzic said. [passage omitted]

Karadzic Welcomes Contact Group Decision

LD1212185794 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1718 GMT 12 Dec 94

[Item received by fax]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 12 Dec (SRNA)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Srpska republic, and Zoran Djindjic, chairman of the [Serbia] Democratic Party, agreed in Pale today that the top priority in resolving the crisis in former Bosnia-Herzegovina is to put an end to the war and reach a peace agreement.

"We have agreed that the Serb side should not set too extreme conditions for a continuation of the peace process and that it would be good if representatives of the Contact Group visited Pale and presented the basis for continuing negotiations endorsed in Brussels," Karadzic stressed at a news conference after his talks with the leaders of the Democratic Party.

The president of the Srpska republic welcomes the Contact Group's decision to abandon its ultimatum-style take-it-or-leave-it way of introducing the plan. He says that "peace can be reached only by the warring sides in direct contact on equal terms with the help of impartial mediators."

Djindjic noted that the peace process for former Bosnia-Herzegovina is in crisis precisely because of the shortcomings in the initial version of the Contact Group's peace plan, something that in his opinion refers to the draft maps.

"The same status should be granted to the negotiating parties prior to continuing the negotiating process, as opposed to the current situation in which the Croat-Muslim side is being treated as a legal subject while the negotiators of the Srpska republic are being treated as representatives of an ethnic community," Djindjic clarified.

He welcomed the Srpska republic's consistent policy toward the Contact Group's initial draft and pointed out that it was precisely this policy that had brought about the Brussels proposal and the new basis for negotiations.

The Democratic Party chairman said that the United States is treating former Bosnia-Herzegovina as a bargaining chip for the Islamic world. He maintained that the theory about Washington's direct vital interests in Bosnia is of questionable quality.

"We are here on a mission of providing good offices for the leadership of the Srpska republic, so that its people can retain their fate in their own hands," Djindjic said in conclusion.

The news conference was also attended by Momcilo Krajisnik, speaker of the people's assembly of the Srpska republic; Aleks Buha, minister for foreign affairs; and Miodrag Perisic, vice chairman of the Democratic Party.

SRS Official Urges Support for Karadzic

LD1212181994 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1718 GMT 12 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Sarajevo, 12 Dec (SRNA)—At a news conference in Pale, Tomislav Nikolic, vice president of the Serbian Radical Party [SRS], expressed his satisfaction because the Muslim and Croat offensive

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against the Srpska republic, aided by the blockade imposed by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], did not produce any results. He said that Serbian President Milosevic is responsible for all casualties caused by the aggression.

"We support the policy of Srpska republic president Radovan Karadzic," Nikolic stressed, and went on to announce a decisive "battle" in the FRY for democracy and recognition of the goals of the struggle waged by the Serbs west of the Drina. [passage omitted]

Aleksa Buba, foreign minister of the Srpska republic, put forward a proposal on this occasion saying that the parliaments of all Serb lands, including the FRY, should conduct a debate on the goals of the struggle waged by the Serbs in former Bosnia-Herzegovina in order to verify and look objectively at the decisions adopted by the Srpska republic so far.

Buha used the visit by the SRS leadership to inform them about the details regarding the resumption of the peace process in former Bosnia-Herzegovina. He said that Contact Group representatives are expected in Pale next week in order to finally begin negotiations on an overall cessation of hostilities and subsequently on other parts of the plan—constitutional arrangements, territorial demarcation, and the lifting of the sanctions.

At the end of the news conference, Velibor Ostojic, chairman of the executive committee of the Serb Democratic Party of Serb Lands, appealed to the FRY authorities to release SRS president Vojislav Seselj from prison.

"We condemn Seselj's arrest and all similar processes. Such a practice is not conducive to the development of democracy," Ostojic said and qualified this act as "a result of the Belgrade authorities' nervousness, which will certainly go down in history."

Silajdzic Urges Action Against Serb 'Genocide'

AU1212204894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1833 GMT 12 Dec 94

[Address by Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic at "extraordinary" Bosnia-Herzegovina Government session in Zenica on 12 December—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpts] The genocide against the population of Bosnia-Herzegovina is on the agenda of this extraordinary session. We start from the fact that the international community has offered a peaceful solution, that the aggressor has rejected the peaceful option, that the aggressor is continuing to commit acts of genocide against the non-Serbian population in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and that the international community is not doing enough to prevent this genocide. We also start from the fact and the conviction that the entire international community is not giving up the implementation of the principles of international law to the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Therefore, our intention is to launch an initiative for the implementation of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide based on Resolution (96) of the General Assembly of 11 December 1946. Our intention is also to offer the deputies, our parliament a declaration on the implementation of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide. Our intention is also to enable the President of the Presidency Mr. Alija Izetbegovic to attend the summit of the Islamic countries tomorrow in Casablanca and secure wide support for our initiative, for the initiative on the implementation of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide, which is continuing to be committed against our population in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

If you permit me, I would like now to read out a text that refers to the subject. Although it is unusual, I would like to read the Convention in order for us to realize that it relates exactly to what is happening in Bosnia-Herzegovina. I would like to read it now.

The attitude of the international community toward the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, toward everything that is happening in and around Bosnia-Herzegovina, is entering a phase that is not unexpected for us. The first wrong step that was taken was the launch of the thesis of warring sides, instead of a clear position on obvious aggression, and it inevitably led to a wrong and absurd result. Now we have an atmosphere where not only is there indifference about who the victim is and who the aggressor, but also there are increasingly loud voices about the need for equal rights and equal treatment for those who carried out the aggression and committed unprecedented crimes against the non-Serbian population. Bosnia-Herzegovina is a UN member, it is a recognized member of the international community, and we have to persist in insisting on the implementation of international law and the active approach of international organizations and institutions. Just as it is completely wrong to view the war being waged against Bosnia- Herzegovina by omitting the term aggression, it is equally wrong for the international community to seek euphemisms for genocide committed by the aggressor. So they have come up with the term ethnic cleansing.

Because of the political interests of certain governments, and partly because of the weariness of the international public—and also because of our patience and ability to become used to the situation—there has been the illusion that the aggressor has stopped committing genocide. However, this impression is completely wrong. The crime of genocide is continuously being committed, and even to a larger extent than before. Bosniaks and Bosnian Croats are still being exposed to public executions within a political project that envisages their extermination. This must be stopped. We have to be persistent and decisive about a spade finally being called a spade. International law has to be applied. There are no political reasons, there are no interests, there are no other reasons why we and the international community should be allowed to close our eyes to the fact that

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genocide of wide proportions has taken place and still is taking place here. It is not usual, but allow me to read the entire text of the clear and quite unambigious Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide. This is the text: [passage omitted]

This, gentlemen, is the text of the Convention, and based on this we say the following. Everyone who has even sketchy information about Bosnia-Herzegovina can conclude nothing other than that this is just such a case of genocide that dramatically exemplifies what this Convention on Genocide contains. The information about mass murders in concentration camps and elsewhere is horrifying. The state commission has information about 77 mass graves on the territory controlled by the aggressor. The pictures of concentration camps have been around the world, and the living conditions for the people of Srebrenica, Gorazde, Sarajevo, and the Bihac region, the reasons why they are living under such conditions are a clear case of genocide. These are not common war crimes, they are crimes with a publicly proclaimed goal: To kill and expel the Bosniaks and Croats, and remove the traces of everything non- Serbian. The intention of a partial or complete extermination of Bosniaks and Croats by the Serbian aggressor is not disputed. It is a publicly proclaimed political project. It has been publicly defined by the Pale leadership and the Belgrade regime—the Serbs cannot and will not live together with the Bosniaks and Croats, and therefore the latter have to be destroyed on all the territory that they consider Serbian. They have already done so to a great extent and they are continuing to do so.

If someone indiscriminately shells every day Bihac or Sarajevo, or any other city with just one goal—to kill as many civilians, women and children, of Bosniak or Croatian nationality as possible—then it is a clear example of the murder of members of a national group in order to exterminate it completely or partially. In short, if what the aggressor is doing to the Bosniaks and Croats in Bosnia is not genocide, then genocide does not exist, and the Convention on Genocide is meaningless. Despite all our experiences, we still believe in the international order, and we are not the only ones who think that. If certain influential governments have different interests, this does not mean that all the countries and the international public have abandoned the principles of international law.

We have the duty toward the victims of genocide, but also toward the international community to stir into action the international instruments for the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide. If further genocide is not prevented in this region, and if the crimes of genocide already committed go unpunished, then this will mean that genocide has been legalized as a means for the achievement of political goals. This is why I propose the following:

First, that this assembly adopts a declaration requesting all the parliaments of the UN member-countries to offer assistance in the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide that is committed against the Bosniaks and Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This assistance would be particularly reflected in the public issuing of information about the crimes of genocide already committed, as well as those that are being committed now; in offering help to prevent the extermination of the Bosniak and the Croatian nations in the besieged cities and regions; in expressing a political and moral attitude in condemning genocide; in sending independent experts to establish the facts and offer help to the Government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina in instigating procedures against the perpetrators of the crimes of genocide and in offering support to the UN bodies for the adoption and implementation of the measures that our country will ask for with the aim of preventing and punishing the crime of genocide.

Second, we propose that the assembly authorizes the Presidency and the Government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina to submit—in line with their authority—requests to the UN bodies with the aim of preventing further genocide against the non-Serbian peoples and punishing those crimes of genocide already committed. I think it would be good if such requests were not only supported but also submitted together with us by all the friendly countries to which we will turn.

Third, we propose that the relevant state bodies be authorized to initiate procedures in front of the International Court of Justice against the perpetrators of the crimes of genocide in Bosnia- Herzegovina, including officials and ordinary persons for all the crimes determined by the Convention, that is, for genocide, for conspiracy to commit genocide, for direct and public incitement to commit genocide, and for aiding and abetting genocide. When it comes to aiding and abetting genocide, one should look at the grounds for launching procedures against certain countries, or their leaders, for whom such assistance can be reliably proven. These acts demand the engagement of a large number of experts and accompanying services, which implies the need for considerable financial resources. We are at war and our resources are very limited, but that must not be an excuse to let the crime of genocide go unpunished. That is why we propose to address all the friendly countries and international organizations with a request for help, and perhaps with a proposal for the formation of an international foundation that would provide the resources needed for the prevention and punishment of the crimes of genocide committed in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

I ask you to accept these proposals since we no longer can or may be silent about genocide. The international public must know about the crimes of genocide being committed here, it must know that mass murders are taking place here, starvation and destruction are being wreaked upon people here whose only fault is that they are Bosniak Muslims and Croatian Catholics. International institutions must be called upon to prevent and

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punish the crime of genocide. Friendly countries must be called upon to give us support in this. If not, it would mean that we were quietly accepting the destruction of nations, and no one has the right to accept that.

Izetbegovic: 'We Feel Betrayed by the West'

BR1212155894 Madrid ABC in Spanish 11 Dec 94 p 40

[Interview with Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic by Branimir Baron Brljevic in Zagreb; date not given: "Izetbegovic: 'We Feel Betrayed by the West'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The shooting continues in Bosnia. Out of vengeance, hatred, or to "win territory." Sarajevo has been transformed into a symbol of destruction and disgrace, into the shame of the Western world. Bosnian President Alia Izetbegovic has just arrived in Geneva, where he informed the Islam Conference Organization about the failure of all the talks with the Serbs and the failure of the CSCE meeting in Budapest. He also asked for arms because it has become clear that in order to ensure that the Serbs listen to the language of diplomacy, it has to have sharpened teeth. Izetbegovic was discouraged, tired, and exhausted. Moreover, he has a mountain to climb.

However he does not want to talk about capitulation: "We will not let ourselves be locked up in reservations," he said immediately when asked why he does not want to give up. This 69-year-old lawyer, a graduate of Sarajevo university has had problems with the Communist leaders of Yugoslavia all his life, and spent many years in prison. He was the clear winner of the first free elections four years ago, and despite everything he has remained the voice of reason and moderation. Nor is he at all fundamentalist, as Serbian propaganda sometimes successfully maintains.

[Baron Brljevic] What can Bosnia hope for when the Blue Helmets have pulled out?

[Izetbegovic] First, the UN troops will not pull out. They would need hundreds of thousands of troops to ensure a "safe" withdrawal. The Serbs need UNPROFOR for its deals. Sometimes they take Blue Helmets hostage and sometimes they attack them. The Serbs need the Blue Helmets for their policy of deceit. A UN withdrawal from Bosnia could be the start of a scenario with terrible consequences. Even if it were possible, the withdrawal of UN troops would be accompanied by intense fighting.

[Baron Brljevic] Would it be possible to pull them out without cover on the ground?

[Izetbegovic] No, it would be almost impossible. At best, the Americans would be much more involved in the war than they originally wanted.

[Baron Brljevic] It is possible that they might not participate at all?

[Izetbegovic] Of course they will not be able to justify to the rest of the world backing off when the chaos threatens to get even worse.

[Baron Brljevic] What is the solution?

[Izetbegovic] Only NATO air strikes can bring peace. The Serbs will only agree to a compromise when there is a military balance. Therefore, air strikes are in reality a way of achieving peace.

[Baron Brljevic] Were the Serbs not convinced by the air strike on the Udbina airfield and the antiaircraft batteries in Western Bosnia?

[Izetbegovic] The Serbs do not yet take seriously the threats as they did in Gorazde where only a confiscated tank was destroyed which caused the Serbs to stop their offensive. Now they have seen that the big words and the powerless attacks are always followed by doubt and backing off. They have realized that their war of aggression is worth it and that the Bosnians, both the Bosnian Muslims and the Croats, are alone.

[Baron Brljevic] What about U.S. support in Kupres? The U.S. Congress has promised financial aid.

[Izetbegovic] We feel betrayed by the West. In Budapest it was clear that they could not even manage to agree on a CSCE resolution to unanimously condemn the Serb aggressor. I understand that the German chancellor, who normally dominates, exploded and openly showed his great disappointment at the result, or rather at the lack of a result from the conference. However, that is no good to us. The West has abandoned its main principals and basic morals. The West will itself have to pay the price in the near future for this betrayal. The German Chancellor Helmut Kohl is an honorable exception to this. In almost all the other western countries, the leaders have shown their weakness almost daily and on almost all points. Democracy does not always prove to be a good system. It may be the best but it is still not good.

[Baron Brljevic] What did you say to U.S. President Bill Clinton in Budapest?

[Izetbegovic] I simply repeated what he has already heard me and other Bosnian politicians say before. I told him that the United States must lift the embargo even if they have to do so unilaterally. They have not respected our people's right to legitimate self-defense, and that will be rather difficult to make up for. I told him that they are already involved in the war because they have tied our hands, we the Bosnians. Now they must defend us with their armed forces or give us the weapons to defend ourselves alone. However, they must do this before any possible withdrawal on the part of the Blue Helmets. If they do not, Bosnia will fall and then many other things in this world will fall with it.

[Baron Brljevic] Does Europe now understand the Bosnian problem even less?

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[Izetbegovic] Yes, because the United States is a multicultural state like Bosnia, and they do not have the European elitism and nationalism like they have in France and the United Kingdom. Therefore, the little that is happening is happening in the United States and not in Europe. In Europe, people—and not just the politicians—find the ethnic partitioning of Bosnia into three parts acceptable because they do not have our experience of a multicultural society and they think in terms of nationalist categories. Sometimes I feel obliged to approve certain compromise situations although a three-way division runs counter to what I feel in my heart and counter to my deepest convictions.

[Baron Brljevic] Would you also approve against your deepest convictions an Islamic state in Bosnia, just to obtain arms from other Islamic states?

[Izetbegovic] Those countries already support us and we are very grateful for their backing. There is no doubt that these countries share our faith and that they immediately realized our situation. That is something you can never forget: a hand held out to you when you are on the point of drowning. However, we have never denied the fact that we are Slavs. Perhaps we are even the most Slavic people because we embraced the religion of the Turks so that they would not bother us. Without arms supplied by Islamic states we could not fight at all. Since the last meeting in Geneva where I managed to get firm guarantees from people like the president of the Islamic League, I can see clearly that we are not completely alone. However, we do belong to the modern world, and I profoundly regret the fact that the West does not understand that in Bosnia a war is coming to an end opposing the living in harmony of different peoples, and different cultures and mentalities. A year ago I defended a Croatian-Muslim federation from the Adriatic to the River Sava. I knew that, despite everything, there was friendship between our people and the Croatian people. At the end of the day, we are the victims of Serbian aggression. However, in addition, historically we have never fought between ourselves. Despite the morose situation in Bosnia now, I take some pleasure in seeing that the alliance between Muslims and Croats is working. One day, when the Serbs return to their senses, a multicultural Bosnia will rise again. We all hope that a reasonable plan for the joint use of our natural wealth and industrial capabilities will be in everyone's interest. I am sure that the logic of reason will win out in the end, but sometimes you lose your patience hoping. Our capital is dying a little day by day and people are becoming increasingly desperate.

Look at Bihac, where we are just seeing a rerun of what happened in Sarajevo. Sarajevo was always a symbol of tolerance and cosmopolitanism, and it will find it hard to recapture this. The citizens know full well that peace will be bitter.

Assembly To Discuss Contact Group Proposals

AU1212161794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 12 Dec 94

[Interview with Mariofil Ljubic, chairman of the Assembly of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation and deputy chairman of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly, by Mladen Bosnjak in Zenica on 12 December—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Bosnjak] Mr. Ljubic, at about 1115 the general alarm was sounded here in Zenica. Is this the reason for the postponement of the session of the Republican, or rather the Federation Assembly? Is this why the session scheduled for today has not started, or is something else in question?

[Ljubic] I can say that the assembly's working bodies have started their work. Some deputies' caucuses are also in session. After that I hope there will be no problems with the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation Constituent Assembly starting work.

[Bosnjak] According to your information, what is under discussion in the caucuses?

[Ljubic] Draft law proposals are under discussion, those that we debated at the previous session. There are also a number of amendments. These are being basically discussed. There is a lot of material concerning important laws in the sphere of finance, the judiciary, and customs, so a serious approach is needed for these to be discussed and passed by the Assembly.

[Bosnjak] Can you say anything more precise about the time of the start of the session?

[Ljubic] I believe that this week, this Tuesday [13 December], will be used for the work of the working bodies, and coordination of the deputies' caucuses. Then there is no reason for the Assembly not to begin the session.

[Bosnjak] We have spoken to you just now as chairman of the Federation Assembly. Everything you have said so far applies to the Federation Assembly. Can you say a few things about the Bosnia-Herzegovina Republic Assembly? You are the deputy chairman of that Assembly.

[Ljubic] The Bosnia-Herzegovina Republic Assembly should start work after the Constituent Federation Assembly. The material that will be discussed [words indistinct]. The latest offerings, so to speak, of the Contact Group will be discussed. The president of the Presidency is expected to address [word indistinct].

Muslim-Croat Parliament Session Postponed

LD1212231994 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2311 GMT 12 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec. 12 (TANJUG)—The Bosnian Muslim-Croat parliament session in

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Zenica on Monday was postponed after the two sides clashed over several key bills.

Muslim Radio Sarajevo said late Monday the deputy clubs of the Croatian Democratic Union and of the (Muslim) Party of Democratic Action had failed to agree on a number of bills, including those on the return of refugees and displaced persons, customs, finances.

These bills were the stumbling block also at a previous parliament session held in Sarajevo four weeks ago.

Bosnian Muslims and Croats signed under United States pressure in Washington on March 18 an agreement to form a binational federation in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The signing of the agreement was preceded by nearly one year of bitter fighting between the two sides for control of territories with mixed populations.

The federation is still only a thing of the future, since Muslims and Croats persist in blaming each other for obstructing the implementation of the Washington agreement.

Five Wounded as Missile Hits UN Vehicle

AU1212155494 Paris AFP in English 1549 GMT 12 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Dec 12 (AFP)—Five Bangladeshi UN peacekeepers were wounded Monday [12 December], one seriously, when a missile hit their armoured vehicle in the northwestern Moslem pocket of Bihac, a UN official said.

The incident occurred in Velika Kladusa, a town in the north of the embattled region, UN Protection Force spokesman Thant Myint-U said.

Missile 'Almost Certainly' Serb

AU1212183794 Paris AFP in English 1801 GMT 12 Dec 94

[Report by Bernard Besserglik]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Dec 12 (AFP)—Five Bangladeshi peacekeepers were wounded in a missile attack on the Bihac enclave Monday [12 December] while the UN commander for Bosnia was trying to persuade Serb forces to stop harassing UN operations.

General Sir Michael Rose was meeting with Serb leaders at their self-declared capital Pale to press for the lifting of a new ban on armoured escorts for UN relief convoys when a rocket hit a UN armoured vehicle in Bihac, wounding five Bangladeshi peacekeepers, one of them critically.

UN Protection Force spokesman Thant Myint-U said missiles fired at the UN compound in Velika Kladusa, a government-held town in the northwest Bihac enclave, "almost certainly" came from the Serb-held Krajina region of Croatia.

One rocket fell near an armoured personnel carrier as it was leaving the compound and another scored a direct hit, Myint-U said. The five casualties were taken back immediately into the compound where a doctor was treating them.

Rose was also protesting at the Serb hijacking Saturday of a Danish UN fuel convoy whose whereabouts was still unknown, and at the obstructionism against other convoys which has seen fuel resources in Sarajevo cut to no more than a few days' supply.

The UNHCR meanwhile said it would send its humanitarian aid convoys into Serb-held areas of Bosnia with or without armoured escorts, despite a previous insistence on having escorts including armoured personnel carriers (APCs) and ambulances.

Serb officials announced the ban on Sunday. They said APCs would not be allowed because they churned up the roads in winter.

Kris Janowski, spokesman for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, said three food convoys would be leaving Metkovic, inside Croatia by the Adriatic coast, on Tuesday and heading for Sarajevo, without escorts if necessary.

"If we can get one we will very happily go with an escort, if not we'll go in any way," he said.

The decision to do without escorts if the Serbs maintained the ban was taken by senior UNHCR management in Geneva and Zagreb, he said.

All the estimated 200 Norwegian and Danish drivers at the UNHCR warehouse at Metkovic had agreed, he said. The decision had been taken "because of the airlift situation and because of the food situation in the city and because we have the drivers who are willing to do it.... What is at stake is the feeding of the people."

UNHCR food reserves in the city are running down following the three-week closure of Sarajevo airport and what Janowski described as a "one-off" convoy arrival last Friday. The Serbs "are clearly back to their old game," he said.

Spokesman Lt.-Col. Jan-Dirk von Merveldt said the UN Protection Force would provide an escort for UNHCR convoys on Tuesday despite the "absolutely unacceptable" ban. The first convoys were due Tuesday. "Tomorrow will be the testing day," he said.

Myint-U, UNPROFOR civil affairs spokesman, said the UN could not compromise with the escort ban "in any way."

"We cannot accept that the Serbs dictate to us that we cannot provide escorts. We have to draw the line somewhere. General Rose is in Pale to tell them that," he said.

On the UNHCR decision to do without escorts if necessary he said it was "up to them to decide."

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Myint-U described as "an act of outright theft" the hijacking of the Danish fuel convoy Saturday as it approached the Ilidza checkpoint west of the city.

All seven of the Danish team with the convoy were back in Sarajevo, but the whereabouts of the three fuel trucks carrying 32,000 litres of fuel was still unknown.

A French convoy bringing 30,000 litres of petrol to Sarajevo finally reached the neutral zone of the airport shortly after midday after being held up at a Serb checkpoint for almost two days.

Fuel stocks in Sarajevo are close to depletion, a UN official earlier estimating reserves at eight days' worth of diesel and two days' worth of fuel, including the strategic reserve. The amount brought by the single convoy represented UN consumption in the Sarajevo region for only a day or two, he said.

UNPROFOR earlier began scaling down operations involving the movement of vehicles in Sarajevo, and a spokesman said that the anti-sniper operation could effectively be halted by Monday evening.

Soldier Dies After Attack

AU1312152694 Paris AFP in English 1512 GMT 13 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Dec 13 (AFP)—A Bangladeshi UN soldier died Tuesday [12 December] after being wounded in an unclaimed attack in Bosnia's Bihac pocket, where four other soldiers were injured, officials in the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) said here.

The soldier suffered brain injuries, was blinded and lost a hand in the attack Monday near the northwest town of Velika Kladusa in the Moslem-held enclave.

One of his comrades was also badly hurt when a rocket was fired at their armoured vehicle and the chances of his survival were poor, an UNPROFOR spokesman said.

UNPROFOR spokesman Michael Willians earlier said that that the "atrocious incident" had left three other soldiers less severely injured and said the five victims were evacuated and being treated at the UNPROFOR hospital near Zagreb.

UNPROFOR said it suspected but could not establish with certainty that the rocket had been fired from positions occupied by militiamen loyal to separatist Moslem leader Fikrat Abdic, who has military support from Croatian Serbs.

Earlier, a UN source said the rocket was "almost certainly" fired from the Serb-held Krajina region of Croatia.

Bihac, Zepa Safe Havens Come Under Serb Attack

AU1312124894

[FBIS Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1100 GMT on 13 December reports the following combat situation in the republic:

Reporter Muhamed Mujic from Bihac says that "fierce aggressor's attacks on the Bihac safe haven have continued overnight and this morning, with sporadic shelling of the town center, too. At 0400 this morning, the enemy under the cover of night launched an infantry attack on the defense lines of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 5th Corps on Mt. Debeljaca. Following a fierce response by our fighters, the enemy was returned to his initial positions. At 0715 the aggressor repeated his attack, which was again resisted. The lines remained unchanged. The Chetnik attacks on defense lines around Vedro Polje, Klokot, Izacic, and Bugar continued this morning with the use of artillery and tanks. On Grmusa-Srbljani plateau, the defense lines have been exposed to intense shelling, which is mostly done by 82-mm mortars. Fierce battles around Bosanska Krupa and Velika Kladusa and on Grabez continue today."

As the announcer in the studio reports, "last night the Serbo- Montenegrin aggressor fiercely attacked Zepa, a zone allegedly under UN protection, and at 2000 launched a mortar attack, which has been the most powerful one since May 1993. During the attack that lasted for one hour several hundred mortar rounds were fired on Zepa settlements. In the course of the night, Chetniks on two occasions repeated these attacks, firing more than 200 rounds at the civilian settlements." The announcer says that consequences of these attacks "were few injured civilians" and adds that the members of the Ukrainian battalion "did not react at all even though they were themselves exposed to the attacks of the Chetnik artillery."

Correspondent Nazir Borodic, who is reporting on the situation in the Samac-Orasje part of the front, says that "traffic of convoys with manpower and military hardware along the so-called northern corridor, from Bijeljina and Brcko to Doboj, has been extremely intense for several days." He also reports that "this morning, at 0945 to be precise, this free part of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the Bosnian Sava Basin was overflown by aggressor's aircraft, which, true enough, did not carry out any combat activities." He says "the general alarm that was sounded on that occasion is still in force."

'Over 4,000 Shells' Fired

AU1312153894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 13 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The joint aggressor forces of Serbs from Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, and so called

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Yugoslavia are continuing the exceptionally heavy artillery-infantry attacks along the entire line of separation in the (?Visoko) region, and on villages in and around the Bihac, Cazin, Velika Kladusa, and Bosanska Krupa municipalities.

In the last 24 hours alone, the Serbian aggressor has fired over 4,000 shells at these regions. The heaviest attacks are still coming from the UNPA [UN Protected Area] in Croatia against Bihac and Velika Kladusa, and from the direction of the right bank of the Una River toward Bosanska Krupa. The fighters of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina are successfully responding to all these attacks and are not allowing any changes in the lines.

On the Bihac part of the front, the aggressor carried out the most intensive artillery-supported infantry attacks on the Grmusa-Srbljani Plateau and around Bugari. The town also came under sporadic fire from 120-mm mortars. From the territory of the so called Serbian Krajina, they attempted several infantry attacks [words indistinct]. The fighters of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina repelled all these attacks.

The Serbian aggressor also carried out intensive artillery attacks on the Velika Kladusa region from the occupied parts of the Republic of Croatia. Together with the supporters of Fikret Abdic [passage indistinct].

Serbs Violate No-Fly Zone, Continue Bihac Attack

AU1212153394 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 12 Dec 94

[Report by Muhamed Mulic from Bihac]

[FBIS Translated Text] The offensive by the united aggressors has continued with unabated intensity today on all the fronts of the Bihac region. Early this morning the protected zone of Bihac was came under sporadic shelling, and the enemy also attempted an infantry breakthrough at Debeljaca Hill, but the fighters of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 5th Corps successfully repulsed it. The villages of Klokot, Izacic, and Zegar were shelled on several occasions this morning.

Fierce fighting is under way in Bugar, and the enemy has also deployed tanks and artillery in these clashes. Since this morning the defense lines of the 5th Corps on the Grmusko-Srbljanski Plateau have been under enemy artillery fire, and helicopters have also been used in attacks. Heavy fighting is again under way around Bosanska Krupa, which is coming under constant enemy artillery fire.

The massing of enemy troops in the UN Protected Areas in Croatia has been reported along the stretch between Velika Kladusa, where the fighting is uninterrupted, and Buzim.

The humanitarian situation in the Bihac region is catastrophic. Bihac has today been cut off from water supplies. There is no information about the announced second UNHCR aid convoy, which was supposed to arrive in Bihac yesterday, nor even whether it has left Zagreb for this part of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Serb Helicopters Drop Chemical Agents on Bihac

AU1212192694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 12 Dec 94

[Report by Nada al-Isa from Zagreb]

[FBIS Translated Text] Heavy shelling of the very center of Bihac and the entire protected zone is under way this evening. The [Serbian] aggressor is firing shells from the so called Serb autonomous province of Krajina from tanks, multiple rocket launchers, and antiaircraft guns and machine guns. The village of Zegar, and the Debeljaca Hill are also under artillery attack. Fierce fighting is going on around the waterworks at Klokot, and on the Bugar-Gata stretch, which is also coming under heavy tank fire. Very heavy fighting is also under way on the Grmusko-Srbljanski Plateau, which is constantly being overflown by the aggressor's helicopters, dropping chemical agents.

Velika Kladusa is being heavily shelled from the so called Serb autonomous province of Krajina. According to the 5th Corps, a dozen tanks are deployed around Velika Kladusa, but the 5th Corps defense lines around Velika Kladusa are firm. This evening the aggressor fired two shells at the positions of the Bangladeshi battalion of the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR]. Four soldiers were wounded. They cannot be given medical care there since there is nothing with which to help them. Now there are negotiations under way with the aggressor to enable the evacuation of these wounded UNPROFOR members to Zagreb.

The fighting, as we have said, is very fierce along the entire defense line, but the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 5th Corps is successfully repelling all the attacks and reinforcing its positions.

We have just heard from the UNHCR headquarters in Zagreb that the aggressor on the occupied territory of Croatia has refused to give permission for the passage of a new UNHCR convoy for Bihac.

Croats Vow To Counter 'Serb Aggressor'

LD1212194894 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 12 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] A general alert was sounded in Livno this afternoon as a result of a Serb long-range artillery attack on the wider town area. Zdenko Vranjes has the report.

[Vranjes] The Bosnian Serbs opened long-range artillery fire at the wider Livno area shortly after 1600. Several

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highly destructive missiles have hit civilian targets, no casualties have been reported, and a general alert is still in force.

The situation on the Livno-Grahovo and Kupres fronts is stable and under the control of the HVO [Croatian Defense Council], said Vladimir Soljic, the defense minister of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna.

We are taking Serb threats seriously and preparing our defense; in view of our equipment, combat readiness and morale, we are ready to respond to any possible Serb counterattack, Soljic declared.

At its session in Mostar today, the government of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna assessed that, following significant victories on the Livno-Grahovo and Kupres fronts, HVO units were in firm control of the present defense lines and completely prepared to respond to any attempt at a counterstrike by the Serb aggressor.

HVO 'Message' on Defense of Areas Near Bihac

LD1312151794 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMt 13 Dec 94

[Zdenko Vranjes report from Bosnia-Herzegovina]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Vranjes] Serb forces continued shelling the wider Livno area this morning. A general alert was sounded again at 1037. There have been no casualty reports, and the material damage is not extensive.

The main headquarters of the HVO [Croat Defense Council] for Bihac today sent a letter to all the institutions of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna. Among other things, the dramatic message says:

The HVO for Bihac is also defending a strip of territory on the approaches to the town, in the direction of the UNPA [UN Protected Area] in the Republic of Croatia, where the heaviest fighting is now raging.

The crushing onslaughts of the Serb-chetnik hordes, the letter goes on to say, have forced some 7,000 Croats to flee their homes and seek refuge with relatives and friends, although many of them remain without shelter or protection. The humanitarian situation is a shambles and a disaster: there is a shortage of basic foodstuffs—the refugees are receiving only one meal a day. All this seems like a deja vu, reminiscent of Vukovar, and we are asking whether all those responsible are ready to see history repeat itself here.

The letter further says that the superhuman efforts invested by the HVO to check further advances by the Serb-chetnik aggressors into the town itself are going unnoticed, because the entire attention of the media is focused on the 5th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, whose activities and operational zone are completely covered by TV networks such as Sky and ZDF.

The HVO for Bihac has lost 15 fighters—another 50 were lightly or seriously wounded while 27 have been declared as missing—in the fighting so far. [passage omitted]

Croatian Army, HVO Reinforcements Deployed

LD1212154194 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1445 GMT 12 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Zvornik, Bileca, Doboj, Sarajevo, 12 Dec (TANJUG)—The offensive launched by joint units of Republic of Croatia Army and the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] against the Srpska republic resumed today with attacks of somewhat lower intensity in comparison with earlier operations, TANJUG correspondents report, citing sources in the Srpska republic army. [passage omitted]

According to the Srpska republic army's military leadership, the arrival of fresh Republic of Croatia Army and HVO units and their deployment in the section of the front facing Serb residential areas and defense positions in the Grahovo, Glamoc, and Kupres areas is a sign that Croatian offensive operations will not only be resumed, but also intensified.

The Serb side has detailed reports on Republic of Croatia Army and HVO units directly involved in the offensive against the Srpska republic. The existing forces have been reinforced by sections of the 2d, 5th, and 9th Guard Brigade, as well as the Domobran Regiment from Osijek.

Serb military sources also listed the units already deployed in the offensive against the Srpska republic: 126th Domobran Regiment from Sinj; 4th Guard Brigade and 72d Military Police Bojna unit from Split; parts of the 115th Brigade from Imotski and the 132d Brigade from Nasice; as well as additionally mobilized units from Hvar, Djakovo, Cepin, and Dubrovnik. [passage omitted]

Croatian Army Units Withdraw From West Bosnia

AU1212125094 Paris AFP in English 1215 GMT 12 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Dec 12 (AFP)—Croatian troops deployed in western Bosnia to help counter the advance of Serb forces have withdrawn to Croatia, a United Nations official in Zagreb said Monday.

The source said two Croatian army convoys carrying "as many as 1,000" men had been seen withdrawing over the border into Croatia.

Other Croatian army units have remained in Bosnia between Livno and the Serb-controlled town of Glamoc, but the exact number of men is not known because the region is off-limits to UN observers, the official said.

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Croatian troops in western Bosnia recently took part in a joint operations with the Bosnian Croat HVO militia, advancing with them from Livno to Glamoc 20 kilometres (12 miles) to the north-west and capturing several villages.

Croatian units went into Bosnia at the request of Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic under a treaty of cooperation and friendship signed in July 1992 and which contains provisions for mutual military assistance.

HVO 'Goal': Take Bosansko Grahovo, Blockade Knin

AU1312114494 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Dec 94 p 6

[Report by Mladen Jurasek: "HVO's Final Goal: Bosansko Grahovo"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In the last few days, we were witnesses to a successful counteroffensive carried out by the forces of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] in Herzegovina. By a combination of deadly artillery fire (multistaged rocket launchers in the first place) and coordinated assaults by tank units and infantry, the HVO is crushing the Serbian resistance without any major problems and is liberating the villages of Livanjsko Polje. It is important to point out that the liberation of those villages is certainly useful and attractive for media reporters, but it is not decisive. Whether such actions will bring about successful results in the long run will depend on the ability of the HVO forces to take dominant positions on Mount Dinara, and keep them despite the Serbian counterattack that will certainly follow, because only those who control the peaks of Mt. Dinara may claim control over Livanjsko Polje. One should believe that the strength of the Croatian artillery will be more than sufficient to repulse all the Serbian raids.

In addition to the strategic significance of the liberation of the aforementioned Croatian territory, this action has profound strategic significance as well, that is, the possibility of conquering or at least blocking Bosansko Grahovo, a town lying on the road that connects Knin with the rest of the Serbian states. It is the same road that leads toward Bosanski Petrovac, which the units of the 5th Corps of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina reached while their offensive was at its climax. Merely a blockade of the road by precisely guided artillery fire from the surrounding hilltops would put Knin in an almost hopeless situation. One must taken into account that winter is approaching, which will certainly complicate the provision of necessary supplies (firewood, food, fuel, and so forth) to Knin and other occupied regions of Croatia further. Unfortunately, this sort of action would not result in a total blockade of Knin, because there is still the possibility of fetching supplies by a road that goes through Lika (via the Bihac pocket, Slunj, and Plitvice), thus connecting Knin with Banja Luka, but communications by this road are considerably longer and more difficult. Even in peace-time conditions, this route was sometimes impassable for trucks due to heavy snowfall and icy conditions. For that reason, supplying Knin and surrounding villages would be difficult even if the winter happened to be not so severe, but with plenty of precipitation.

Furthermore, the fall of Bosansko Grahovo and the HVO's penetration into the direct hinterland of Knin would have a strong psychological effect that would shake the morale of the rebel Serbs that has recovered owing to the recent success around Bihac. It must be known that, prior to this success, the rebel Serbs in Croatia were experiencing only defeats, starting with the Miljevac Plateau, the operation for the liberation of Maslenica, to the Medjak pocket. All this affected the combat morale of the Serbs in Croatia negatively. Right now, their morale would certainly not improve if the lines of battle moved to just several kilometers away from Knin.

To what extent the Serbs care to preserve Bosansko Grahovo is best shown by the fact that they have decided to urgently shift some troops engaged in the fighting around Bihac to Livanjsko Polje. For that reason, the pressure on the 5th Corps around Bihac has let up, so that it has even managed to win back some of the territory around Bihac that was previously taken by the Serbs from Croatia. Given the further advance of the HVO toward Bosansko Grahovo, the Serbs will have to deploy more and more troops there, thereby weakening their positions in the entire Bihac region, which will, on the other hand, make it possible for the 5th Corps to reorganize its lines and try to win back the lost territories.

Even if the worst happens, that is, if the Serbs take Bihac, the HVO's liberation of Bosansko Grahovo will annul the effect of the Serbian success entirely—from the Croatian point of view of course.

Serb Snipers Kill 1, Wound 3 in Sarajevo

AU1212192794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 12 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Chetnik snipers today continued to sow death and fear on the streets of Sarajevo with impunity. One person was killed in Stup, while two others were wounded near the maternity hospital and a third one near the museum.

At about 1500 the chetnik snipers opened fire intensively at the museum, but the UN Protection Force members responded. The enemy has been using snipers, as well as antiaircraft weapons and small arms, along the other demarcation lines, and the outskirts of Sarajevo, according to reports from the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 1st Corps Information Service.

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UN Fuel Convoy Enters Sarajevo

LD1212191094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1854 GMT 12 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec. 12 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serbs have ensured that a United Nations fuel convoy, blocked at a checkpoint since Saturday, enters Sarajevo, the U.N. Protection Force in Sarajevo said Monday.

News agencies said that this was a six-truck French convoy carrying 30 tonnes of gasoline that arrived at Sarajevo airport on Monday.

The agencies said that the Bosnian Serbs were still blocking three Danish fuel tankers, halted in a Sarajevo suburb on Saturday.

The AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE news agency said that UNPROFOR Commander for Bosnia-Herzegovina Gen. Michael Rose should discuss all issues hampering the U.N. peacekeeping mission with Bosnian Serb leader.

Food Convoy Arrives With UN Escort

AU1312153494 Paris AFP in English 1503 GMT 13 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Dec 13 (AFP)—A nine-truck convoy bringing 90 [metric] tonnes of food and provisions reached Sarajevo Tuesday [13 December] "without problems and with an escort," Kris Janowski, spokesman for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, said.

Two other convoys comprising more than 30 trucks carrying around 400 tonnes of food were delayed for "technical reasons" but were expected to arrive normally on Wednesday, Janowski said.

Difficulties with Serb officials over an escort of armoured vehicles did not materialise, he added.

On Sunday UN officials announced that Serbs had imposed a ban on the use of armoured personnel carriers to accompany the convoys on the grounds that they damaged the roads in winter, but "it was all a mix-up, I guess," the spokesman commented.

The new deliveries meant that the UNHCR would be able to carry out a full two-week food distribution cycle for the city's 380,000 population.

The three convoys had been prepared to divert into central Bosnia if the Serbs had maintained the ban on escorts.

However Sarajevo airport, through which 80 percent of food supplies to Sarajevo were normally channelled, remained closed to humanitarian airlifts.

Even if all UNHCR resources were switched to a land operation, bringing convoys by road from Metkovic in Croatia, only around two- thirds of normal supply levels could be assured, Janowski noted.

The UNHCR has applied to Serb officials for clearance for convoys through until Thursday. Friday is an agreed "no convoy" day.

Serb officials on Monday authorised the partial reopening of Sarajevo airport for the rotation of UN Protection Force personnel. A UN spokesman said flights would resume as soon as possible, with officials in the Serb "capital" Pale giving authorisation on a flight by flight basis.

Serb military leader General Milan Gvero said Monday that a full reopening of the airport would require a written guarantee that the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation would not take air action over Serb-held territory.

Serbs Attack Villages Near Gorazde

AU1212192494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 12 Dec 94

[Report by Fahrudin Becic from Gorazde]

[FBIS Translated Text] The chetniks have been firing 82-mm and 120-mm mortars and antiaircraft guns at Hrenovica on the Pale road and (Vrazalici) on the Rogatica road. They have also been firing intensively with small arms at the area of Osmak and Vitkovic. Civilian targets have also come under fire along the Vitkovic-[word indistinct] road [words indistinct].

This evening is somewhat calmer although small arms fire can be heard in the town's outskirts.

Serb Attack Continues in Brcko Region

AU1212192594 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 12 Dec 94

[Report by Hamid Deronjic from Brcko]

[FBIS Translated Text] The [Serbian] aggressor has been heavily shelling Vranovaca with 82-mm and 120-mm mortars and the central part of the Brcko defense with 122-mm howitzers from the direction of Cadjavac. The aggressor's long-range artillery has also been targeting residential areas on the free Brcko territory, but we have no information about possible casualties.

The aggressor is also continuing to regroup on the Brcko front. Enemy helicopters have been spotted flying over the Bijeljina-Pelagicevo route.

Croats Reject EU Proposal for Joint Police

AU1212170894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 12 Dec 94

[Report by Zlata Behran from Mostar]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Today the joint police force is to start work in the streets of [Bosnian-held] eastern Mostar, but it will be without

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participation of the Croatian police, that is, the representatives of the [Croatian-held] western part of Mostar. The work of the operative center in the eastern part of Mostar, in which European policemen and those from this part of the city will participate, is an attempt to create a unitary police force, and thus break the impasse. There is no indication if or when the western Mostar police will join the operative center. So far the Croats have rejected such a proposal all along.

Artillery Attack on Doboj Continues

LD1312152394 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1409 GMT 13 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Doboj, Srbobran, Bileca, 13 Dec (TANJUG)—After a pause lasting several days, early this morning Muslim units launched an artillery attack against Doboj, TANJUG has learned from Srpska republic sources.

Civilian targets were shelled. There have been no reports yet of civilian casualties but considerable damage has been inflicted on buildings. A general alert is in force in the town and the population of Doboj is in shelters. [passage omitted]

Electricity Supply in Bosnia 'Extremely Grave'

AU1312115694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 13 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The Bosnia-Herzegovina power industry public liaison office reports that the energy supply situation on the free territories of our country is extremely grave. Repair work on a 50-megawatt generator in Tuzla will last 10 days. A 32-megawatt generator at the Kakanj steam power plant is out of operation due to a shortage of coal. Three generators in the Jablanica hydro power plant are not working because of the complete exhaustion of the reservoir; this situation will be used to carry our regular annual maintenance overhaul on the plant.

The republican distribution center has imposed tighter controls to prevent the electricity system from collapsing. The distribution offices are failing to accomplish the desired restricted consumption and, henceforth, as of today, large parts on the free Bosnia-Herzegovina territory will begin to be disconnected from the (?high voltage) grid.

Minister Views Role of Islam in Bosnia

94BA0050B Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 20 Nov 94 p 6

[Interview with Culture Minister Dr. Enes Karic by Milos Ekar; place and date not given: "'Religion Is Our Support, Solace, and Foundation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Professor Enes Karic has been the Bosnian minister of science, education, and sports for four months. He is a classical philologist by education. He received his doctorate at the University of Belgrade, and attended graduate studies at the University of Cairo and Yale University (in the United States). At the Sarajevo Theological School, he teaches the interpretation of holy scriptures, especially the Koran, and occasionally he teaches Western philosophies in postgraduate studies at the Philosophy School. He has translated the Koran into the Bosnian language, something he was preparing even during the war. Branko Gradisnik will translate his translation of the Koran into Slovene.

[Ekar] What kind of role is religion playing in the Bosnian war?

[Karic] Our tragedy is a total one: biologically, we have already lost 10,000 of our compatriots. We are not boasting of those numbers like the Serbs with their dead from World War II. We would rather have those people alive.

The war is also tragic for us on the cultural side as well, since 800 mosques and other religious facilities have been completely destroyed, not to mention the damage to schools, the national and university libraries, the Institute for Oriental Studies, and so forth, which have been completely burnt, along with most of the books and other valuable materials. They have pushed us into this war like a nonswimmer into the middle of the sea. In those circumstances, of course, religion is important. People resort to it, because in many cases they have no other support.

It seems unusual to Western observers that young women are starting to wear characteristic shawls again. According to their statements, however—I have spoken with many of them throughout Bosnia—it is more of an expression of protest against the horror that has been happening to them than an expression of religious identity. Religion is also a refuge for those who, during times of complete desolation, seek answers to the universal questions.

Thinking people are well aware that Islam has had a rich tradition in our literature, philosophy, poetry, everyday culture, and vocabulary. Islam, as you will find it in the works of Abdulah Sidran, one of our major writers, or Nedrad Ibrisimovic, we will always cherish. The kind of Islam that we will also cherish in the future will be transparent and thoroughly recognizable, and that is why I constantly say to reporters from all over the world that our people should be preserved precisely because they are unique, in some Islamic-European or Euro-Islamic way. I think that we are definitely Europeans and Slavs. Our survival should be a valuable confirmation for Europe, which boasts that it is tolerant, multicultural, tolerant of religions, and so forth.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, we have always respected what is different, and written it with a capital D. Bosnia was a living university for the comparative study of religions; on the same street you could meet Franciscans and Islamic mystic dervishes, but I am afraid that the current war is trying to destroy precisely that kind of

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Bosnia. Neither World War I nor World War II called into question that religious diversity and tolerance, nor did the Austro-Hungarian conquests, nor the Turkish domination, and even both Yugoslavias did not try to destroy that marvelous diversity.

Disappointment over the behavior of France and Great Britain, primarily their politicians, is one of the reasons for Bosnians' return to religion. With everything that has happened so far in Bosnia, we have received the impression that human rights apply to the French and British, but not to us as well. We have done everything that they asked of us. We have held free elections, and so forth; but when we asked for the right to self-defense, they started to look askance at us, saying that we were organizing an Islamic army.

Thinking Bosnians constantly wonder what the reason for the Serbs' behavior is. We are not different from the Serbs in appearance, even in the color of our skin, and even language does not differentiate us. If you asked Ferdinand de Soussire (an important French linguist—author's note) about the difference among the Croatian, Serbian, Bosnian, and Montenegrin languages, he would say that it was one language with several nuances. Consequently, one cannot even justify the hostility because of language. The hostility is thus either because of tradition or because of the fact that we demanded an independent state. The reason for the hostility therefore lies precisely in the fact of our being Islamic. It is dangerous to think that the spiritual foundation of our struggle is precisely what they hate us for. That conclusion is inevitable, however. When you ask yourself why the Serbs are ethnically cleansing towns, why they are driving out or slaughtering Bosnians, the above answer suggests itself.

Religion also has a defensive role. Religion creates a thin invisible thread, a spiritual connection, which unites the actor and the half-literate Bosnian soldier. That spiritual connection, expressed in a common religion, is being manifested more and more.

[Ekar] Is Islam the foundation for the formation of your cultural and national identity?

[Karic] From Sotla to Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] there are four peoples, which have been defined by religion and not by language. The Croats are separate in a national sense primarily because of Catholicism. I know, of course, that Croatian literature is different from Serbian literature, but I am firmly convinced—and sociologists specializing in religions and peoples claim the same thing—that it was primarily religion that formed the Croats, and likewise the Bosnians and Serbs. The Montenegrins are only an exception that confirms the rule. They were formed by territorial isolation and the "mountaineer" tradition.

In spite of that, the basis of the Bosnian national identity is primarily Bosnia. When I talk with teachers who are not religiously educated and know that they are neither Croatian nor Serbian women, they are committed to Bosnia as a geographical concept. Our other characteristic is Islam, and moreover Islam in very diverse manifestations: literature, everyday culture, a means of conduct. Islam in Bosnia is what guarantees us at least the necessary few percentage points of difference, since we have to emphasize too often that we are neither Serbs nor Croats. We have to repeat the same thing several times to both sides: It is obviously not possible to decide on one's identity independently; you feel your identity as you feel your blood, and so forth.

A hundred and twenty years have already been pushing us here and there. Many manuscripts written before World War II in the Bosnian, Persian, Arabic, or Turkish language were signed with the name of the writer and the designation of a Bosnian. Back under Austria-Hungary that designation started to be lost and replaced by the designation of Muslim, with a capital M. We consequently had to accept the designation of Muslim under pressure. Muslim, however, is a heavenly designation, and not a mundane one. It is taken out of the Koran and designates anyone who accepts Islam. A Bangladeshi or a Slovene who accepts Islam can be a Muslim. That is, of course, an expression from holy scripture, which says that it is heaven-sent.

Before this war a few of our intellectuals understood and thought about how the heavenly identity granted to them meant taking away their mundane identity; that giving you heaven means taking the ground away from you. Consequently, if you are a Bosnian, if you are a Muslim, that means that you also do not have the right to your own state, cultural institutions, language, and so forth. We are only now aware that our tradition is also secular, that the state is important for preserving the people and its identity, and that the state mechanisms, which we are using democratically, are also important to preserve the people. I am convinced that we will hold out, since we have shown that we know how to be democratic.

In the most difficult moments of this war, we have remained cultured and dignified, and all of our media are free. No one has tried to remove the cemeteries and sacred buildings of different faiths. We have not destroyed a single church. The freedom of the media and the freedom of religion go hand in hand.

[Ekar] One can frequently hear criticisms about a revival of Islamic fundamentalism in Bosnia. What do you think about those claims?

[Karic] There is no danger of an outbreak of fundamentalism in Bosnia. That is not an apology, because I am convinced that I am a European and that I am a Muslim. The Muslims in Bosnia obviously have a refined attitude toward religion, since up until now neither the Catholics nor the Orthodox have renounced them. We have been brought up in the kind of micro-Islamic environment in which neither the church nor the presence of other religions represented a danger to us.

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It is true, however, that both the East and the West have tried several times to win over Bosnians, to win over their souls. Both sides have done that several times clumsily, and on occasion even comically. Some Western lay humanitarian organizations think that they have to encourage the laicization of Bosnians. They think that we are some sort of "temporary Muslims," and so, like a certain Norwegian organization, they distribute Bibles to us along with food.

On the other hand, the representatives of Islamic countries, for example, see a person who drinks alcohol, and demand that we abstain from that, or that our women must wear shawls, saying that we are good Muslims who need encouragement and support from our Muslim brethren from elsewhere. We desperately need humanitarian assistance, and consequently we often ignore those and similar attempts to influence people. We also talk many times with those representatives, however, and explain to them our history, positions, and so forth.

The reason for that kind of behavior by foreigners usually lies in their unfamiliarity with Bosnia. Our soldiers, who drink, will say unanimously that they are Muslims and Bosnians. Newcomers from Islamic countries and Catholics are surprised at that. In my opinion, there is no tradition that could be imposed or converted by alcohol alone.

[Ekar] What are relations with the Croats like now?

[Karic] I think that the trend in relations is positive. We want a federation as the nucleus of a future Bosnia, and we would also be glad if reasonable Serbs also agreed to a federation.

We have never lumped the Croats and Serbs together. The Croatian church never supported Mate Boban or the ideas about the annexation of certain parts of Bosnia to Croatia. The Croatian church in Bosnia and in Croatia has been committed to the preservation of Bosnia. The intellectuals in Croatia have also not unanimously supported the partition of Bosnia. For example, Vlado Gotovac, Ivo Banac, and many others, including Savka Dabcevic-Kucar and Mika Tripalo, did not want to draw a parallel between Bosnia and Yugoslavia, since Bosnia was an independent entity even under the Turks, and was also a "corpus separatum" under Austria-Hungary.

It is in the interest of Croats and Bosnians to preserve that community achieved through tribulations, and many Serbs are also interested in it. There are many normal, civic-minded Serbs. Our friends throughout the world also constantly urge us that in the cities under our control we have to preserve the kind of diversity, freedom, and tolerance that we know from better times. That will be the best capital for the future of our community.

Sprska Leaders Denounce NATO, UNPROFOR

95P20251A

[FBIS Media Note] The 21 November bombing raid by NATO forces against Udbina Airport in Serb-held Croatia provoked angry reactions from Bosnian Serb political and military leaders, three of which were published in the 23 November issue of BORBA.

In an article titled "Bombing of Udbina—NATO's Moral Catastrophe," Radovan Karadzic, president of the Bosnian Serb "republic of Srpska" (RS), referred to NATO as "a criminal regional organization," charging that it had "transgressed all standards of international law" and predicting that it was "probably hurtling toward its own destruction." Karadzic threatened NATO with possible "retaliation" and warned that the Serbs would determine the time and the targets so as "to make it very painful for the members of NATO."

In another article, titled "Aerial Attack on Republic of Serbian Krajina Is a Crime," Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the Bosnian Serb Assembly, stressed that the attack could not contribute to peace and "only adds fuel to the fire." Holding the United States responsible, he wrote: "This scenario, dictated by the United States, could turn into a general war." Krajisnik stressed that neither the Bosnian nor the Krajina Serbs wanted such a war and called for a negotiated solution in order to avoid unspecified dire consequences.

General Ratko Mladic, commander of the Bosnian Serb army, expressed his anger in a letter to UNPROFOR Commander Bertrand de Lapresle, accusing him of using NATO to resolve the war in favor of the Croats and Muslims. Mladic said he saw "no reason" why UNPROFOR personnel should remain in the RS and suggested that peacekeeping forces could no longer be "protected." Mladic charged that de Lapresle was "responsible for the escalation of war in this region."

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Military Cooperation Agreement With Albania

LD1312122294 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 13 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] An Albanian Defense Ministry delegation, headed by Defense Minister Safet Zhulali, and a Republic of Croatia Defense Ministry delegation, headed by Deputy Defense Minister Josip Juras, have signed a military cooperation agreement.

The document says that the agreement is not directed against anyone but is aimed at strengthening bilateral military cooperation between Croatia and Albania.

Paper Claims Croatia Preparing for Extensive War

LD1212161794 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1429 GMT 12 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Ljubljana, 12 Dec (TANJUG)—LJUBLJANSKI DNEVNIK today claims that Croatia has been preparing for a large-scale war against the Serbs. The daily cites a number of indications of intense military activities in its territory and warnings by the Ministry of Defense in Zagreb.

The Croatian air defense has considerably stepped up its level of combat readiness. The movement of military conscripts has been restricted in certain counties near the war zone and special measures have been adopted to link military and work duties.

An unnamed official of the Croatian Defense Ministry has explained the comprehensive military activities by citing the Zagreb political leadership's belief "that Serbia will not abandon Croatia's temporarily occupied areas in the near future," the daily writes.

LJUBLJANSKI DNEVNIK also mentions that almost all domestic media have been preparing the Croatian public for large-scale war by carrying carefully selected reports.

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Commentary Views Greek Idea for 'Balkan CSCE'

AU1312123594 Skopje PULS in Macedonian 2 Dec 94 p 13

[Commentary by Mirce Tomovski: "Between Illusions and Reality"]

[FBIS Translated Text] What the Europeans or the Americans cannot understand in the Balkans is the game of illusions and reality, of lies and truth. The first game concerns passions and their introduction in policy, while the other models such a behavior that makes policy suspicious, irrational.... The Balkans has not changed this image in the current political period of democratic changes. On the contrary, mutual non-confidence is symptomatic of the political process. There are two seemingly unrelated events that confirm this situation.

This autumn the Greek leftists and their leader, Nikos Konstandinopoulos, promoted the idea for the foundation of a "Balkan CSCE." According to the authors of this project, it would be a forum for "cooperation, development, and common security, independent of and far from any influences." In the proclamation for the "Balkan Helsinki" they call for "inviolability of borders, respect for human rights, for the rights of minorities in all the countries, and an efficient system of security and ecological protection in the Balkans." The leader of the leftist forces in Greece took this idea on his cruise across the Balkans—he visited Tirana, Sofia, Belgrade—and he announced his intention to have consultations in Skopje.

The initiative for "Helsinkinization" of the Balkans is in itself very attractive. It is an attempt at political communication in the most sensitive political zones in Europe. Although these ideas come from the political circles in Greece, a state that is at this moment the strongest in opposition to the CSCE principles, they can be valued as a political and diplomatic challenge for relaxation of pressures in the Balkans. The Bosnian conflict and the bloody voice of weapons are the biggest tragedy that cannot leave any logic indifferent. However, it is a great warning for all those living to the south of the war—to talk and negotiate about the most unsolvable questions and to oppose state and nationalistic malice.

The southern Balkan region is now pressed by the known constants about its instability and concrete interstate troubles. Here are the relations between Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] and Greece, the embargo and the closed border; the military and political tension between Greece and Turkey because of the sea, the islands, and particularly because of Cyprus; the conflict with Albania in reference to the convicted leader of "Omonia"... this is the south Balkan reality. It is "complicated" by Macedonia, an independent and autonomous country—one of the facts "in front of which even the gods are silent."

Recently a Kosovo discussion on the "Albanian question" was held, at which Abdurahman Aliti, the PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity] leader, at least according to some agencies' reports, supported the idea for a "Greater Albania and the right of the Albanians to have a common state in which they would live together." Arben Djaferi, president of Menduh Taci's PDP faction, sees Macedonian tranquility only in "the recognition of the Republic of Kosovo." A motto for such ideas are the "European integrational processes." Both these personalities are a part of the Macedonian political atmosphere: Aliti, a parliamentary official, and Djaferi, a member of parliament who announced that "it is not my intention to be an ethnic but a political opposition." Both of them are actually participating in the state policy—it is a reality whose essence is "the key for peace in the Balkans."

The idea of the Greek leftist circles for a "Balkan CSCE" undoubtedly deserves respect from the position of initiatives that are directed toward peace and elimination of those factors that could provoke a war. However, the proposal in itself is a contradiction in terms.

Greece, as a member of the European Union and the United Nations, is persistently objecting to the Macedonian admission to the CSCE, as well as to economic or any other assistance that various European organizations are inclined to give. The southern neighbor and Serbia are the only ones that do not recognize the international fact of Macedonia's existence. What can now be the formula for the foundation of a "Balkan CSCE" and a collective system for security and protection? Such an action presupposes an agreement of equal partners and their common security interests. Macedonia is "kept" outside the system of European security in spite of the fact that it represents the biggest threat to Balkan peace and a constant provocation for a Balkan war. Because of that Konstandinopoulos will have troubles in explaining the Greek embargo against Macedonia in reference to the proposals for a "Balkan Helsinki." It means that there should be free flow of people, ideas, capital, culture...and the Greek border is the closest in Europe nowadays!

This proposal comes into conflict with the policy and practice toward national minorities. They are as a whole opposed to one another as state policies and treatment of minorities—the Macedonian in Greece, Albania, Bulgaria; the Albanian in Greece and Macedonia; the Greek in Albania; the Turk in Greece....

Of course, the biggest negation of this—certainly benevolent idea—is the war in Bosnia. Here lies the key Great Serbian idea... and here come the dreams for another nega-state, Albania.

Konstandinopoulos has contacted Tirana, and as much as we could find out, Tirana did not object if peace and security are at stake... In spring this year the Albanian head of the state Sali Berisha, on the occasion of joining NATO and the "Partnership for Peace" stated that he "is giving up his Great Albanian dream." However, the dreamers in Kosovo and Macedonia cannot have their dreams taken away. The right to having dreams has its

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legitimacy, even in the dreams for great states—Macedonia, Greece, Bulgaria.... However, reality is the most difficult. The attractive and challenging illusions that are caused by these dreams are almost without exception in conflict with reality.

It is an illusion to create a CSCE in the Balkans before creating proper conditions. It is an illusion to advocate a Great Albania in the name of European integration. A state in which all the Albanians will live (if the Serbian example is not sufficient) will mean a disintegration and a change of the borders or—speaking in CSCE terminology—it will mean violability of the borders. It is really what the leftist forces in Greece want to do, that is to join political engagements that will lead to giving up nationalism as a state policy and giving up the Balkan stereotypes such as the resistance to recognize Macedonia turning toward a democratic treatment of the minorities in conformity with world's standards.... Reality is if the PDP and Aliti have a "sense" (something they are asking from the state for the requirements of the Albanians) for loyalty to the state in which he lives and works as a party leader, in whose parliamentary democracy he takes part as a deputy chairman of the parliament. In brief, to link policy to a real engagement leads to mutual confidence, and to link it to illusions leads to—suspicions.

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Defense Ministry Purchases Canadian Helicopters

95BA0050A Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 24 Nov 94 p 2

[Article by Vladimir Vodusek: "New Canadian Helicopters Cost $27 Million"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *None of the seven is luxuriously equipped; the period for repayment of the credit is seven years; the supplier is Iskra Commerce because it asked for the lowest commission.*

Ljubljana, 23 Nov—Defense Minister Jelko Kacin said at a news conference that the Defense Ministry had bought seven helicopters from the Canadian producer Bell Helicopter Textron. The contract on financing the purchase of the helicopters will be signed today. The deal is worth approximately $27 million, approximately $23 million of which will come from credits. The period for repayment of the credit is seven years.

The Defense Ministry is buying the seven helicopters as a package. Five are multipurpose model 412's, and two are the Bell 206 training helicopter. The first one will be included in a flight brigade this December, and the transport helicopters later on. None of the helicopters is equipped luxuriously, and one has a weather radar installed. Three producers responded to the tender, specifically, in addition to the one selected, Agusta Bell from Italy (the offer was made by Metalka on behalf of the Sneznik enterprise's Grosuplje branch, but according to Jelko Kacin that offer was substantially worse), and Eurocopter, which did not meet the requirements.

The only serious financial offer that allowed completion of the above-mentioned deal came from the Canadian state export company, Finance Minister Mitja Gaspari said. The basic financing terms were agreed upon at the beginning of September, and the negotiations were completed between 26 and 28 October 1994. This was a substantial improvement over the initial offer from that company with respect to the interest rate. The terms of other companies for promoting exports were less favorable to us.

The unrestricted public tender for the selection of a commission agent for importing the helicopters was published in URADNI LIST on 25 July 1994. The commission for issuing permits, on 7 September, confirmed the correctness of the method of the public tender and the selection of the agent (which was Iskra Commerce-Trgovina), and on the basis of the commission's opinion, on 22 September the government approved that commission's decisions. The decision on the selection of the commission agent was issued on 16 September, and the commission agreement between Iskra Commerce and the Defense Ministry was signed on 7 October 1994, Minister Lojze Janko stated at the news conference.

In response to a question about Iskra Commerce's commission, the defense minister answered that it was virtually nonexistent. The supplier was only charging the expenses resulting from the contract. Iskra Commerce received the job because it was asking for the lowest commission, the defense minister said.

Because of complaints from those who were not chosen as the supplier, there were numerous difficulties, Jelko Kacin said. The only complaints were from foreign enterprises. In August and September, there was intensive correspondence through embassies, and at the end of the summer they received a report from the State Department that there were no obstacles to the transaction.

Minister of Economic Activities Dr. Maks Tajnikar also participated in the news conference, and said that the legal foundations for implementing the basic development program required, as a rule, counter-deliveries for the purchase of weapons and equipment abroad. That means that the suppliers are opening up a new market for Slovene goods and services. The most important thing is the precise definition of the counter-delivery, and above all a public tender from the Defense and Economic Ministries, in which the Slovene economy will be invited to prepare appropriate bids to be included in the counter-delivery. The condition is that these not be goods already being sold in those markets.

[Box, p 2]

At the ILA air show in June, Bell Helicopter Textron Inc. announced the sale of the seven helicopters to Iskra. On 8 July FLIGHT INTERNATIONAL magazine announced that "the United States has concluded the first sale of military aircraft to East Europe." Polemics developed with Jelko Kacin resulting in the resignation of the head of coordinating group 2003, Franci Znidarsic, saying that he had not been informed about the contract. Jelko Kacin explained that he had not concluded any contract.

Social Democrats Expand Voter Base

95P20247A

[FBIS Media Note] In an apparent attempt to enlarge its voter base, the opposition Slovene Social Democratic Party (SDSS) recently founded three affiliates: The Social Democratic Christian Forum (SKF), the Social Democratic National Forum (SNF), and the Social Democratic Trade Union Forum (SSF).

REPUBLIKA, a Slovene-language daily published in Trieste, reported on 13 November that the SDSS had founded the SKF in Ljubljana the previous day. The report said that the SKF would not try to compete with other Christian parties, but to enable all Christians to become "politically active" and "implement Christian values." An article in the 14 November issue of the Ljubljana daily SLOVENEC described the SKF as a vehicle for uniting diverse democratic forces into one large democratic bloc. It also noted that Dr. Janez Juhant, dean of the Ljubljana School of Theology, had attended the founding congress. According to SLOVENEC, SDSS President Janez Jansa explained at the

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congress that "mafia-like," deteriorating, social conditions brought about by the "neo-Communists" had given the Social Democrats the impetus to cooperate with Christians from other political parties to build a "more democratic, progressive, and secure" society based on a system of moral values. Presenting the SKF platform, Marica Marolt Gomiscek, its newly elected president, spoke of the fundamental values held by the SDSS, "liberty, justice, solidarity, and also patriotism."

A commentary by Vladimir Vodusek in the 15 November issue of the Ljubljana daily DELO characterized the founding of the SKF as the beginning of the struggle for Christian votes before the local elections planned for 4 December. While votes on the left are divided between two parties, Liberal Democracy and the United List, three parties are competing for votes on the right: The Christian Democrats, the Social Democrats, and the People's Party. Although it appears on the surface, Vodusek wrote, that the SKF serves as a means to unite Christian parties, he believes that its establishment has really opened an all-out conflict between two opposition parties that were formerly members of the Demos coalition—the Christian Democrats and the Social Democrats. Vodusek noted that Social Democratic Party has been gaining influence among Christian Democrats who are dissatisfied with their party's participation in the government and that the leadership of the Catholic Church had expressed support for the SFK.

The 21 November SLOVENEC reported that on 19 November the SDSS had founded the Social Democratic National Forum (SNF) to "bring together" all Slovenes, regardless of party affiliation, to protect "national interests." According to the 18 November SLOVENEC, the SNF apparently aims to attract especially "those nationalists" who are disappointed with Zmago Jelincic's Slovene National Party (SNS). According to the paper, Jansa listed several reasons for the creation of the SNF, such as concern that the Slovene Government had been "too accommodating" in negotiations with foreign creditors and that it had made "too many unnecessary concessions" during recent negotiations with Italy. Attacking what he termed social injustices caused by past privileges, Jansa also castigated individuals he accused of having enriched themselves through illegal privatizations, thereby perpetuating a "deep rift" among the Slovenes. According to the article, Jansa, independent Slovenia's first defense minister, also questioned the present capabilities of the Slovene Armed Forces.

On 26 November the SDSS founded the Social Democratic Trade Union Forum (SSF) "to improve the unity and effectiveness" of organized labor, according to the 28 November DELO. Addressing the members, SDSS President Jansa said that the SSF would promote "cooperation," "solidarity," and "mutual assistance" among trade union organizations in their struggle against the "brutal logic" of capitalism. Jansa added that the SSF would educate and inform the public about "serious" violations of employees' rights. The article mentioned that the Forum would support the establishment of workers' councils and a "Chamber of Labor" and that it would work for Slovenia's ratification of the European Social Charter. Jansa blamed the "dismal condition" of Slovene workers primarily on the government and its lack of resolution in formulating a strategy for economic development.

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Federal

Zebic Discusses 1994 Budget, Plans for 1995

AU1212211894 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 12 Dec 94

[Interview with Jovan Zebic, deputy prime minister and finance minister, by Dusko Petrovic; place and date not given—recorded; all figures as heard]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Zebic] When the bill on the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] budget for 1995 was drafted, we were proceeding from several fixed assumptions that are to be the essential elements of next year's economic policy. First of all, stable prices: We do not reckon on any price increases next year. Second, a stable exchange rate: We think that one should keep the fixed rate of one dinar against one German mark. Third, we proceeded from the assumption that revenue must be balanced with expenditure; that is, that one may spend as much as the revenue earned allows, and here I mean revenue from realistic sources. Therefore, for the next year we do not plan any revenue apart from taxes, dues, and duties. These are three sources and we do not reckon the federal state going in for any form of borrowing next year.

[Petrovic] What is the structure of the federal budget revenue?

[Zebic] Well, the basic structure of the revenue planned for next year is as follows: We expect that 55 percent of the total budget will come from turnover taxes; 27 percent from customs duties and import duties; 9 percent from export duties; 2.6 percent from federal administrative taxes; and 5 percent from income [word indistinct].

[Petrovic] What about the structure of the expenditure?

[Zebic] Well, the structure of the expenditure is as follows: As I have already said, it is 7.5 percent of GDP, that is 76.2 percent of total budget expenditure, on the Yugoslav Army; 0.6 percent, that is, 5.7 percent of the total budget expenditure, is for protection of veterans and the disabled; 0.3 percent of GDP, or 2.8 percent of the total budget, goes on interventions in the economy; the total cost of the federal bodies is 1.1 percent of the GDP, or 11.8 percent of the total budget; 0.3 percent of the GDP, or about 2.5 percent of the total expenditure, goes on humanitarian aid. Therefore, the planned total public expenditure for this year, 41.16 percent, serves as a basis for next year's plans. We consider this to be the (?top level) that we may take from the (?GDP). Out of this, 9.85 percent of the GDP was planned for the federal budget, and it is our view that we must retain that level at all costs for next year as well, although there are some exceptional difficulties in solving certain problems regarding the federal budget. However, anything above this level would lead to destabilization. We consider this to be the top level and that public expenditure should be adjusted to this budget limit. Federal laws, organization, everything that cannot fit into this [word indistinct] should be re-examined.

[Petrovic] What do you think will be the federal budget balance in 1994?

[Zebic] This year, we behaved in a composed fashion, followed stabilization, and the federal budget target of 1,675,000,000 dinars that was initially passed at the Federal Assembly will be completely met. Therefore, all expenditure is going to fit into this sum and we expect some revenue that may pay out the rest; there are 113 million dinars left unsettled, and we reckon that we are going to earn this sum in the coming 20 days and therefore spend only as much as we earn.

[Petrovic] Therefore, 1994 will end without any budget rescheduling.

[Zebic] This is what we are planning on: No rescheduling and no excess in (?expenditure). In our opinion, this policy should be retained throughout next year as this makes a very specific contribution to the realization of our program and maintaining a stable dinar, and stable prices and domestic currency.

Serbia

Daily Denies U.S. Policy 'Reversal' on B-H

AU1312111394 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Dec 94 p 12

[Commentary by Nikola Burzan: "The 'Big Reversal' Bait"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The wish is father to the thought. Just like a child greedy for a lollipop, or a fish for a worm, many have swallowed the "great changes," "a sensational reversal," "a 180-degree turn" of the U.S. policy on the Yugoslav crisis, that is, on the Bosnian knot. The unambiguous bait thrown out by U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry that the Serbs have won the war and that they should be allowed to form a confederation with the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] has so blinded the Belgrade propaganda that it is beginning to exult over its victory, thereby (again) provoking the entire world.

Unsophisticated and inept (although, as a friend of mine put it, it has won the media war!), the propaganda pursued by the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] has thereby only harmed the Serbian cause, and particularly the personality and work of Slobodan Milosevic. It has brought him to such a position that the opposition denounces him as a liar and accuses him of having brazenly deceived the nation. The sport with Perry's bait has assumed even some comic dimensions—a certain Radovan Karadzic refuses to meet the UN secretary general and, crowned with laurels of the victor, states that Milosevic did not start the war, so, consequently, he cannot put an end to it, while his (Karadzic's) Belgrade

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cheerleader, the leader of an opposition (non-parliamentary) party concludes that the great powers will finally understand that Milosevic is not the party to talk with about the settlement of the Bosnian conflict.

Even more weighty words are spoken by the totally disorientated Serbian opposition at the time when foreign negotiators and mediators are queuing in front of Milosevic's office and when absolutely normal and logical messages are coming in from the other side of the Adriatic, from the head of the Italian diplomatic corps, Antonio Martini: "If one wants to accomplish a political settlement for Bosnia, it is necessary to actively involve Belgrade in the process, because a peace without Serbia, or against Serbia, is unachievable."

What actually happened? There were no great changes, sensational reversals of policy or the like. The possibility of a confederation between the Serbian republic and the FRY has existed since the day the Contact Group plan was launched, on the condition that the Bosnian Serbs accept and sign it. However, so far, they have been quite unwilling to do so. They do not even want the confederation: What they want is an independent, sovereign state that the United Nations would recognize.

Actually, Perry only repeated what has been known for a long time, which THE WASHINGTON POST calls "yesterday's offers": The United States does not want to send troops to Bosnia, the confederation is possible only if the Bosnian Serbs accept the peace plan, if Belgrade recognizes Bosnia-Herzegovina in "its current, internationally recognized borders," and on top of all that, if the Bosniak-Croatian government agrees to it. All that. Does anybody believe this is achievable? Has there ever been a creation of a state where one half of it forms a confederation with one state, the other half forms a confederation with another state, while the entire entity still remains unified, independent, and sovereign?!

After the Brussels meeting of the foreign ministers of the countries engaged in the Contact Group, the only certain thing is that the Bosnian Serbs, at last, have equal rights with the Muslims and Croats. That is to say, the right to form the confederation with the FRY. So there is no new plan, or a new cover: This is all about the yesterday's offer, which is actually unachievable.

The expectation of the clerks of the Belgrade (SPS) propaganda machinery that the world, meaning the West, would divide or even disintegrate because of Bosnia were unrealistic and arrogant. Klaus Kinkel, no matter how much some people may hate him, is the chief of the diplomatic corps of one powerful country, and he made it clear, after the meeting in Brussels, that the Contact Group has preserved its unity and that the Bosnian Serbs should not have any illusions that they are capable of breaking the cohesion of the international community.

After the meeting with President Mitterand, Chancellor Helmut Kohl warned the Germans (and the Americans) to handle Bosnia with care, because they do not have troops stationed there. It is known that Kohl is Clinton's choice—the question is, however, whether that affection will pass the test of time. In any case, it was not only a courteous statement to please the seriously ill French guest and great European, President Mitterrand.

The possible confederation is also disliked by the Muslim leaders—Haris Silajdzic and Ejup Ganic have made this quite clear, threatening that, in that case, they will demand a confederation of Bosnia and Sandzak! I point out that Ganic has called all those ideas infantile and unfeasible. Then, what other choice remains? How and by what means did Juppe and Hurd convince Milosevic to exert even greater pressure on the Bosnian Serbs, and how is Milosevic supposed to do that at all? What can a possible new conference on the former (that is, the previous Yugoslavia, as the SPS's propaganda machinery has ordered the former Yugoslavia to be called) Yugoslavia bring about?

Finally, one should point out what must be remembered for now and forever: The world (the international community) will not allow the establishment of an Islamic state in Europe, nor will it allow the expansion of the current Serbian state to the west (say, up to the famous Karlobag-Karlovac-Virovitica line). If this is clear, and it should be to any literate politician, then the final settlement of the Bosnian war should be sought within such a framework and such principles, and only there. Whether it is Karadzic or Milosevic, Izetbegovic or Tudjman, or someone else, or all of them together, who will bring the war to an end is irrelevant. In any case, there will be no winner.

As for the great reversal of policy, it was just another illusion, like last year's snowfall. By the way, snow does not fall to cover the hill, but rather to disclose animal tracks....

Montenegro

Marovic Elected New Assembly President

LD1212160694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1510 GMT 12 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Podgorica, 12 Dec (TANJUG)—Svetozar Marovic, vice president of the Democratic Party of Socialists, was elected today as president of the Assembly of Montenegro.

Of the three candidates who contested the post of parliamentary speaker, which was left vacant following the death of Risto Vukcevic, Marovic received the majority of votes (44).

Dragan Soc was the candidate of the People's Party, and Dzemal Perovic that of the Liberal Alliance. Soc gained 19 and Perovic 12 votes. [passage omitted]

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Sale of Hard Currency to Central Bank Encouraged

AU1212134194 Podgorica POBJEDA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Nov 94 p 5

[S. Scekic commentary: "Nape or Neck"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It seems that by the decision of [Federal Prime Minister Radoje] Kontic's cabinet to stimulate exporters the highest state institution has made two confessions: That hard currencies are no longer pouring into the state cash-box, and that the dinar's value is considerably smaller than one German mark.

Can it happen that the realization of the program of monetary reconstruction and economic recuperation of the country will be divided in two phases from now on: The period from 24 February until the government's decision to encourage exporters, and the period that follows, the outcome of which is hard to predict with certainty? Kontic's cabinet made a decision by which, according to the statement issued by the Palace of Federation, the development of the production for export is encouraged. "The firms that sell the hard currency obtained through export to the National Bank of Yugoslavia will enjoy a special favor of 33 percent upon the export of sold hard currency [sentence as published]."

In the country where euphemism is common whenever the citizens are addressed by officials, so even the word "crisis" was being substituted for years with "objective circumstances and subjective weaknesses," one more euphemism does not seem to make any difference. But in this case its translation must be provided immediately.

In simple language, the government's decision means that for each German mark sold to the National Bank exporters will get 1.33 dinars. Or to put it in a slightly more complicated, but common way: The state will boost the exchange rate a little. The decision is actually the confession of the highest state organ that hard currency is scarce, that few people or firms are selling it to the state, and that one dinar is worth less than one German mark, to which it was anchored on 24 February. To publicly state this even yesterday (and probably also today) means the risk of standing high on [National Bank's Governor Dragoslav] Avramovic's list of enemies of the economic program and sowers of unnecessary panic.

The National Bank tried to calm down the overheated atmosphere in the monetary and other economic spheres by a package of measures adopted on 21 October. The exchange rate stabilized on the black market after the withdrawal of a part of cash from circulation, which was certainly influenced by a coordinated action by the police, that seems to have carried out a verbal order from the highest office that anybody involved in the black market and speculation with hard currencies was to be arrested. Unofficial information say that the black market exchange rate has "perked up" again these days (one German mark for 1.7 dinars), and that firms, if they dare not boost the rate, are resorting to the so-called treasuring—that is, safekeeping hard currency far from the eyes of the National Bank.

On Tuesday at the regular session of the three prime ministers it was concluded that considerable effects were achieved in appeasing the trends on the hard currency market and the commodity market. For that reason the aforementioned decision, which was made only a day later, its motives and goals, have caused an additional surprise. Because the offered stimulus is again considerably smaller than the one well-established in all money channels, so it is quite certain that the state cash-box will not be swamped with hard currency so soon. On the other hand, the psychological effect may only harm the national currency, because the stimulus might generate new records in dealers' cuts. After all, our experience so far tells us that real troubles for the national currency come about whenever the state acts as a street-dealer—in one or the other form.

Kosovo

Status of UNHCR Resettling Refugees in Kosovo

AU1212090594 Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian 9 Dec 94 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Will Serbian Refugees Be Settled as Colonists in Kosova?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Although Christine Bertiamo, the representative of the Prishtina Office of the UNHCR and official of the UNHCR in Geneva, has recently said that the UNHCR will not assist in the settlement of Serbian refugees in Kosova, Bujko's Vienna correspondent Rifat Buzuku reports that Andrisek Aldritch, representative of the UNHCR office in Vienna, said at a meeting in the Slovene capital Ljubljana that the UNHCR will take part in the plan to resettle Serbian refugees from Bosnia and Croatia in Kosova.

He explained this, he said, by the fact that Kosova is within federal Yugoslavia and the authorities have asked for the refugees to be distributed evenly throughout the territory of the country.

He said that the refugees are victims of war and [words indistinct].

Gazmend Pula, chairman of the Kosovo Helsinki Committee, responded to Mr. Aldritch's statements. He said that the situation in Kosova may explode at any moment and that the settlement of Serbian refugees could influence a further escalation of the situation.

Mr. Pula said that the people of Kosova are very sorry about the sufferings that innocent people are undergoing due to the militaristic policies of the Serbian leadership. However, the people of Kosova cannot condone projects that coincide with the Belgrade government's strategy for colonizing Kosova and changing its ethnic structure.

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He called on the UNHCR not to support the Serbian Government's project for the settlement of Serbian colonists in Kosova.

The Serbian Government has now begun to establish the first colonies. Mr. Pula said that, according to reports from Belgrade, 100,000 Serbs will arrive in Kosova because 300,000 Albanians have emigrated because of violence and intimidation. After Mr. Pula's speech, the representative of the UNHCR's Vienna office said that he would inform UN officials about the problems that settlement of Serbian colonists in Kosova might raise.

These statements were made at an international conference and representatives of independent organizations involved in human rights organized by the Human Rights Center, the Ljubljana Citizens' League, the International Helsinki Federation of Vienna, and the Council of Europe. Elsa Ballauri and Maks Velo of the Albanian Helsinki Committee also took part.

Serbian Police 'Besiege' Grejkoc Village

AU1312091594 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT No 505 in English 9 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The LDK Information Commission in Suhareka reports that today at 8 a.m., heavy Serbian police forces besieged Grejkoc village of this municipality. The police is reported stationed in the village with five tanks, two armored vehicles, and many other police cars. The report indicates that the residents of the village are worried and there is no information about the situation inside the village.

Possible Export of Electricity Reported

AU1212120394 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Dec 94 p 11

[M. Laketic report: "Record Production—No Electricity"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Pristina, 6 December—In spite of a record electricity production in the "Kosovo A" and "Kosovo B" steam power plants—which is what we were told at these plants—there are still power cuts in Kosovo. We heard at the Electricity Distribution Center in Obilic that three aggregates of the "Kosovo B" power plant (the second, the third, and the fifth are working, whereas the first and the fourth are on stand-by) and the aggregates of the "Kosovo A" plant yesterday produced more than 19 million kw hours. We also heard there that yesterday's production of electricity, which amounted to 116,896,000 kw hours, was the highest ever achieved in Kosovo.

Excessive consumption and the present low electricity production in hydroelectric power plants are the reason that users are regularly cut off, though. The only relief could be abundant rain or snow. The continuous hydroelectric power plants yesterday produced only 17 million kw hours, and the reserve power plants only about 6 million kw hours so that the steam power plants in Obilic, Kostolac, Lazarevac and Obrenovac had to take over the whole burden. We heard at the Kosovo electricity distribution center that yesterday's production of the Djerdap hydroelectric power plant [on the Danube] amounted to only 12 million kw hours while the planned quantity was 30 million kw hours.

We heard from Vojislav Aksentijevic, technical manager of the "Povrsinski Kopovi" public company of Obilic, that there is enough coal for steam power plants, so that they could even produce more. He says that an average of 30,000 metric tons of lignite are won daily in coal mines around Obilic.

"The results achieved are 18 percent higher than planned," Aksentijevic says, adding that the "Kosovo A" power plant's coal reserves exceed 150,000 metric tons and those of the "Kosovo B" 200,000 tons.

In spite of this production, users from the so-called fourth users' group (parts of Gnjilane, Kosovska Kamenica, Pristina and Podujevo) were cut off for six hours yesterday.

Is electricity being exported? Nobody at the Kosovo Electricity Distribution Center could give an answer to this question because the employees of this center are allegedly not entitled to speak about this issue so that we were referred to the respective ministry.

The Albanian-language press published in Pristina informed their readers about the latest "measures" the phantom republic of Kosovo took in connection with the Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] violation of the UN sanctions against Yugoslavia. It is stated in these "measures" that Bujar Bukesi, the self-appointed prime minister of the "Republic of Kosovo," accused Macedonia and Yugoslavia of "violating the trade embargo," quoting a series of examples, among which there is also the export of electricity to Macedonia.

[Box, p 11]

Fourteen Million Kilowatt-Hours Daily

Kladovo, 6 December—It is stated by dispatchers on duty in Kladovo and Kusjak that "Djerdap I" and "Djerdap II," the Yugoslav hydroelectric plants on the Danube, deliver 14,000,000 kw hours electricity every day in spite of the extremely unfavorable water conditions.

The overhaul of the sixth aggregate at the "Djerdap I," and the installation of two new 54 megawatt aggregates at "Djerdap II" are being completed now.

Report on 'Treason' by Ethnic Albanian Agents

AU1212134294 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 4 Dec 94 p 6

[N. Ilic report: "The Treason by Double Agents"]

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[FBIS Translated Text] The Service of State Security [SDB] in the former SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] was burdened by many difficulties because of the already known culmination of the political situation in the country, but in the last 15 years the greatest headache was caused by ethnic Albanian agents.

Many of those agents, according to the data available, played a double role, working simultaneously for SDB and some of the Western intelligence services, only to flee abroad with confidential information at a crucial moment, like Selim Seferaj, who was even proposed for the ambassador of SFRY to the United States.

Dark Room

"Seferaj's flight is one of the greatest losses for the SDB ever. He was trained as a diplomat, whose intelligence work would cover North and South America. He had an access to many secrets regarding our work," an agent in charge of Kosovo says.

After the intelligence training, Seferaj had the privilege of being able to examine the files on Yugoslav and foreign agents, kept in the so-called dark room at the headquarters of SID (intelligence service with the former Federal Secretariat of Foreign Affairs, SSIP). Examining those documents, classified according to country, and study of them is the first phase of expert training.

After that phase there follows the study of buildings and important individuals. All this was accessible to Seferaj in 1979, who shortly thereafter was supposed to take the charge over the entire intelligence network at the Yugoslav consulate general to Canada. In addition, his task was also to observe the Chetnik emigration in that country.

As the crown of his work the position of ambassador of SFRY to the United States was promised to him. He would most probably have finished his career thus, had he not been recruited by the CIA as early as in the years when he had still lived in Kosovo, which was discovered only later, when everything was over.

At the same time, among other agents Abdulah Prapastica was also attending the intelligence course with Seferaja. For him a different role was designed by the then officials in the SDB. He operated in Kosovo, and during the demonstrations of students in 1983 in Pristina he was supposed to arrest one of the student-members of the so-called People's Red Front, an ethnic Albanian organization that actively took part in the demonstrations.

A Note Gave Him Away

However, instead of doing that, Prapastica used the chaos to pass a not on the student, warning her that she would be arrested. Fortunately or unfortunately, the note got lost in the crowd and was found by one of other agents present there, who reported the case to the SDB authorities. Whatever the reason may be, Prapastica was not arrested, so the next morning he found himself in Istanbul. The flight was organized by the BND (German intelligence service), and after he disclosed everything he knew this former Yugoslav agent was granted political asylum in Germany.

His far more important colleague, Seferaj, chose a simpler way. In principle he accepted his assignment, and left for Toronto, where he was performing his duty for four months, never arousing suspicion among his superiors.

However, the illusion about his loyalty was broken by a cable, informing the then SSIP and SSUP [Federal Secretariat of Internal Affairs] that he was absent from work for 14 days. Yugoslav diplomats were ordered to visit him and see what was going on. However, what they found in his apartment was only a bare parquet floor, while after a month the American press published Seferaj's letter, in which he expressed his support and empathy for the suffering of his compatriots in Kosovo, as well as the worry for their life there, because of the constant terror by the Serbian police.

After this, a great investigation started in Yugoslavia. Because of Seferaj, the entire network of agents and the ways of their contacting abroad was changed, while because of Prapastica the chief of SDB for Kosovo (an ethnic Albanian at the time) was suspended. The pseudonyms of all agents operating in the region were changed, while many agents abroad were ordered back home.

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